

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

December, 1940

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Volume One

Number Four

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS
SEATTLE

MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

Edited by

RAY HEFFNER

Managing Editor

DUDLEY D. GRIFFITH

FREDERICK M. PADEFORD

CURTIS C. D. VAIL

HOWARD LEE NOSTRAND

Direct contributions to

Managing Editor, Modern Language Quarterly,

Parrington Hall

University of Washington

Seattle.

Direct business correspondence to

Director of Publications, University of Washington Press

Subscription price \$2.00 per year :: Single copies \$.75

Issued in March, June, September, December

Entered as second-class matter May 6, 1940, at the post office at Seattle, Washington,
under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Printed in U.S.A.



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THE PROGRESS OF CHAUCER'S PARDONER,
1880-1940

By G. G. SEDGEWICK

Under date of 12 June, 1880, Jusserand remarked that the picture of Chaucer's Pardoner was "indeed too familiar," that "its very strangeness [had] partly come to be overlooked."¹ And as he no doubt intended, his famous essay on "Chaucer's Pardoner and the Pope's Pardoner" had or seems to have had a two-fold issue. First, it may be credited with revealing to readers of Chaucer a rich interest latent in the Pardoner and his performance. At any rate it set moving a long line of researches that have exploited the wealth. More specifically, it proved the poet's "minute accuracy . . . so far as the most monstrous and, so to speak, unlikely of his heroes is concerned." The Pardoner, *qua* pardoner, was thus amply revealed in all essential respects sixty years ago, and the significance of the revelation was clarified and deepened by a chapter in *English Way-faring Life in the Middle Ages*.²

But even Jusserand may not have guessed in 1880 or 1884 how very accurate and complex that portraiture was. Ever since he wrote, research and criticism and interpretation have been busy with the noble ecclesiast. For the Wife of Bath and the Pardoner exercise a fascination not so much over the unregenerate as over God's elect. If the latter do not bourn and play as the unregenerate do, they certainly become astonishingly vocal in the presence of that ungodly pair in whom William Blake saw the "scourge and blight" of every age. An explanation of those hard words in the light of Blake's philosophy may prove to be the last judgment on the Pardoner. Lacking that, I have tried, in reviewing the chief judgments of these last sixty years, to sort out the established from the doubtful and to see the Pardoner afresh as he appears in 1940. Of necessity, such a review must cover ground that is very familiar; but its examination of certain details and its general picture of the Pardoner are, I believe, not usual.

I

Research and criticism are pretty generally agreed about the Short Story to which the Pardoner gave classic shape. Its "analogues" are now counted in legions, as perhaps they were in Chaucer's own day. Tyrwhitt spotted an Italian specimen a hundred and

¹ *Essays on Chaucer*, Chaucer Society, 2nd. series, 1884, 423-436.

² See pp. 308-337.

sixty years ago, in 1881 Richard Morris noted the earliest known form of the tale,³ parallels have been cropping up everywhere ever since, and no doubt they will continue to appear as long as there are new stocks of folk-lore to examine. No one any longer expects to find Chaucer's precise original. As far back as the 13th century,⁴ the story had filtered from the Orient into the deep well of European exempla from which all ecclesiasts could draw. We may choose to fancy that Chaucer himself first heard it from the mouth of a preacher. At some time, as we now see, somebody—whether Chaucer or another—enriched the tale by fusing into it a mysterious personage engaged in the Quest for Death.⁵ Ten Brink long ago believed,⁶ and Professor Carleton Brown now believes, that this figure is the Wandering Jew casting his shadow over the Three Robbers; but the strange shape of the Old Churl as evoked by the Pardoner—if shape he might be call'd—has seemed to others even more portentous. Whatever meaning you put upon him, surely in this particular tale he is an emanation of Chaucer's art alone. For one thing, folk-lore and homilist together could hardly account for the appearance of Roman elegy in a pardoner's sermon or for its transfiguration into notes so exactly pitched and so disturbing:

And on the ground, which is my moodres gate,
I knokke with my staf, bothe erly and late,
And seye "Leeve mooder, leet me in!"⁷

But praise of the Pardoner's narrative art is not relevant to this study, and indeed it has now become superfluous. In 1886, W. A. Clouston remarked that Chaucer tells the tale "in a manner that is superior to any other version in prose and verse"⁸—a moderate judgment that no one will question, even after enjoying the glitter of "The King's Ankus."⁹

³ *Contemporary Review*, xxxix, 738.

⁴ See Carleton Brown's edition of *The Pardoner's Tale* (Oxford, 1935), p. xxv. Mr. Brown's account of the story (pp. xxi-xxviii), is the best extant. The whole edition is excellent, even when its interpretations are open to question.

⁵ For a summary of research on this point see F. N. Robinson's note on line C713 of the *Canterbury Tales* in the Cambridge Chaucer (p. 836). By the kind permission of the publishers, I have taken my Chaucer quotations from this edition.

⁶ *History of English Literature*, II (London, 1893), 171.

⁷ G. L. Kittredge related these lines to the First Elegy of Maximian (*American Journal of Philology*, ix [1888], 84 f.). The fact that Maximian is "not very respectable" (*The Pardoner's Tale*, ed. Pollard and Barber, London, 1929, p. xii) does not seem relevant.

⁸ *Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer Society, Second Series (1886), p. 436.

⁹ See H. S. Canby, *Modern Philology*, ii (1904), 477-487.

Unhappily, a sense of proportion has too often been lacking in admirers of the prize exemplum—for it was an exemplum, and nothing more, to Chaucer's Pardoner. Sometimes you wish his narrative art had not been so impressive, since then no one could have lifted a "perfect short story" out of its context or thought of it as an end in itself. Chaucer never meant it to be so taken. Reading it in and out of context are two quite different things. But the "riotours thre" seem to hypnotize many readers into overlooking or resenting the fact that Chaucer had other things to do than merely tell a fine story. To Lounsbury, the "long disquisition in which the Pardoner indulges on the evil effects of drunkenness and gaming" was an "intrusion of irrelevant learning" which "breaks the thread of the tale . . . and adds nothing to its effect."¹⁰ The heresy is still extant. As late as 1935, Mr. Carleton Brown¹¹ (following the lead of Dr. H. B. Hinckley¹²) felt he had to "account for" the irrelevant intrusions that Lounsbury reprobated. These troubles will be discussed later. At the moment it is enough to say that they result from misunderstanding of Chaucer's design and may be attributed to the spell cast by the great tale.

Of the "credibility" of the Pardoner and his revelations, it is safe to say that no responsible critic has really doubted it during the last sixty years.¹³ Editors are still bound to warn beginners against the myth of monstrous unlikelihood which Jusserand undertook to dispel in 1880. They must still point out that the Pardoner of Chaucer's fiction is no more strange than the pardoner of historic fact. They must still refer to the convention of the self-confessor in medieval satire which links the Wife of Bath to the Old Woman in the Romaunt of the Rose and the Pardoner to False Seeming. It is also well to be reminded of the immediate inspiration which the ecclesiast may have got from his moist and corny ale—though I have heard Professor Kittredge say that one drink would hardly account for the result, especially when the Pardoner had a cake for shoeing horn. And, lastly, no one who has listened to intimate autobiography in the smoking-room of a transcontinental train need feel troubled by the Pardoner's abandon. As Ten Brink remarked long ago, the rogue "unmasks his trade and practices with that shamelessness and bare-faced frankness which the atmosphere of the Canterbury Tales

¹⁰ Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, III, 366. Lounsbury does admit defense on "the ground of dramatic propriety." But the admission is obviously half-hearted.

¹¹ Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. xv-xx.

¹² *Notes on Chaucer*, Northampton, Mass., 1907, pp. 157-159.

¹³ The nearest approach to a doubt occurs in Pollard and Barber, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

requires."¹⁴ Jusserand's classic fantasy (which, by the way, must not be taken as literal comment) expands this statement with persuasive eloquence:

On the further bench of the tavern the pardoner remains still seated. There enter Chaucer, the knight, the squire, the friar, the host—old acquaintances. We are by ourselves, no one need be afraid of speaking, the foaming ale renders hearts expansive; here the secret coils of that tortuous soul unfold to view; he gives us the summary of a whole life, the theory of his existence, the key to all his secrets. What matters his frankness?—he knows that it cannot hurt him; the bishop has twenty times brought his practices to light, but the crowd always troops round him. And who knows if his companions—who knows if his more enlightened companions, to whom he shows the concealed springs of the automaton—will, tomorrow, believe it lifeless.

Later on in this essay, I shall point out how, by skilful manipulation, Chaucer practically leaves his Pardoner with no other choice than to speak exactly as he did.

Various other critical agreements can be reviewed as quickly. The most important of these admits the debt which the whole scheme owes to the medieval sermon. For while Chaucer sees the Pardoner as anything but a parson, he does make him preach a queer sort of exhibition sermon which is undoubtedly a masterpiece in its given setting. It has been, and still is, misunderstood even by some who have a deep and lively interest in the "medieval mind." But everybody now understands that somehow or other Chaucer got himself steeped in all the dyes of traditional preaching before he set about creating the *Canterbury Tales* and several of the pilgrims in it. We have long known his familiarity with the stores of exempla¹⁵ from which he furnished the Pardoner with other material besides the Three Robbers' tale. Brave attempts, not altogether successful, have been made to exhibit several of the Tales, the Pardoner's among them, as more or less "typical" medieval sermons.¹⁶ And though this "sermon" is certainly not "typical," Chaucer's very departures from the type imply thorough acquaintance with it. A study of the Parson's tale and the Pardoner's use of it will probably satisfy most readers as to Chaucer's knowledge of the sermon stuff. If it does not, they may fall back on Dr. G. R. Owst's impressive

¹⁴ Ten Brink, *op. cit.*, II, 170.

¹⁵ See, especially, K. O. Petersen, *On the Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale*, Boston, 1898.

¹⁶ See C. O. Chapman, *Modern Language Notes*, xli (1926), 506-509; xliii (1928), 229-234; *PMLA*, xliiv (1929), 178-185. Also, C. Jones, *Modern Language Review*, xxxii (1937), 283; *Mod. Lang. Notes*, lii (1937), 570-572.

studies of medieval preaching¹⁷ which, extravagant as they are in their general claims of value, do succeed in showing that practically every detail of the Pardoner's practice and utterance can be paralleled in the homilies, the tractates, the sermon manuals, or other records relative to preaching. The "lost soul" whom Chaucer inflicts on the Pilgrimage fairly reeks of the medieval pulpit: he is a supreme example of the Preaching Fox.

Some of Chaucer's reading was much more secular than sermons, as Professor W. C. Curry has proved to the shocked admiration of scholarship in his essay "The Secret of Chaucer's Pardoner."¹⁸ From a study of the physiognomy literature, Mr. Curry shows that the ecclesiast had the physical characteristics of a type of unfortunate known in those writings as *eunuchus ex nativitate*. But no gentle reader need consult the originals in so far as they concern the Pardoner; for there is no "secret" of this sort about him. Chaucer himself revealed the "secret" with sufficient clarity, as Mr. Curry points out, in one bleak line:

I trowe he were a geldyng or a mare (A 691)

—it does not matter which. And this is what everybody, medieval or modern, would "trowe" him to be from his appearance and voice alone. The fact remains, however, that Chaucer did draw on the Physiognomies, if for no other purpose than to make his figure "scientific" or to amuse himself otherwise: he was concerned with "minute accuracy" in respects of which Jusserand was probably unaware. Certainly, he knew those writings, for he mentions one of them; and the "typical" traits, there set forth, of the *eunuchus ex nativitate* went, beyond dispute, into the Pardoner's portrait. Contrary to Mr. Curry's assumption, I very much doubt that any of the pilgrims (except Chaucer and the Physician) were familiar, or needed to be, with the Physiognomies; and if I agreed with Mr. Curry, I should regret that he came too late to supervise the reading of the Lady Prioress. But there is no need to minimize what he has added to our knowledge of Chaucer's methods if not to our understanding of the Pardoner.

This is perhaps the point at which to speak of Professor J. M. Manly's suggestion that the Pardoner and other pilgrims were drawn from life models. His "new light on Chaucer"¹⁹ illumines a good

¹⁷ *Preaching in Medieval England*, Cambridge, 1926; *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, Cambridge, 1933.

¹⁸ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, LVIII (1919), 593-606; *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, New York and Oxford, 1926, pp. 54-70.

¹⁹ *Some New Light on Chaucer*, Bell (London, 1926[?]), pp. 122-130, pp. 288-290.

many dark corners and re-illuminates many familiar ones; it blends with any clear doctrine about Chaucer ever presented. As for the Pardoner, it has localized him more precisely than ever he was before. During the 1380's and 1390's, his House of Rouncivale, an interest of Chaucer's patron, John of Gaunt, was much in the public eye, and not always favourably. We learn, for example, that real pardoners of that house had been notoriously converting collections to their own use, just as their fellow in fiction boasted of doing. Records of this fact, published by the late Professor Samuel Moore²⁰ before *New Light* appeared, make it "difficult to believe" that a contemporary audience would not link the person and goings-on of the Pardoner with some actual rogue. Further, "his new Italian fashions," as Mr. Manly calls them,²¹ are distinctive features that Mr. Curry's physiognomy books obviously cannot account for. If you pause to think of it, a most striking peculiarity of the portrait, not mentioned in *New Light*, is its combination of pardoner and *eunuchus* in one person. This is certainly not "typical," as all records and traditions testify decisively. There are good reasons for thinking that, along with many other elements, Chaucer put traits of some well-known individual or individuals into the Pardoner's complex.

II

Chaucerian research, like admiration of the Pardoner's tale, is sometimes afflicted with a faulty sense of proportion. Eaten up with the zeal of discovery, scholars are tempted to see the philosopher's stone in some very ordinary run of the mine. With every deference to Mr. Curry, for instance, one may again point out that his researches do not reveal the "secret" of Chaucer's Pardoner, as he seemed to think; further, that an oddly naïve view of the Pardoner's last actions is the reward of his mistake. And with every gratitude to Dr. Owst, one cannot agree with him in regarding the study of medieval sermons as the whole duty of man.²²

Three examples of the scholar's error should be dealt with faithfully. One is perhaps unimportant and innocent enough; but each of the others has proved to be a considerable nuisance; and all three set their ferment working in a mass of valuable information.

²⁰ *Modern Philology*, xxv (1927), 59-66.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 130.

²² One negative example of Dr. Owst's excess is the statement (*Literature and Pulpit*, etc., p. 386 n.) that the evidence he produces "again goes far to destroy Professor Manly's main contention in his recent book." The "evidence" and the "contention" do not really conflict in any way whatsoever.

The first, which may be called the Flanders Heresy, is based on a single phrase:

In Flaundres whilom was a compaignye (C 463).

Why did Chaucer say "Flanders"? One attempt to answer this question has taught us much about the troubled relations of England with the Low Countries and, particularly, about the Flemish reputation for avarice and hard drinking. If the matter had been left so, there would be no heresy. Flanders, even if mentioned only once, would do as a perfectly good local habitation for three rioters. But is it not too much to "wonder . . . if in this tale Chaucer is merely telling an idle story [!] to amuse his distinguished audience or if he through the Pardoner, a professional moralizer [!], is not glancing at his own troublous times when he develops this theme of avarice and projects it for its background upon the history of Flanders"?²³ Perhaps this guess at Chaucer's intention is not altogether serious; for surely the poet would not have left a purpose like that to depend on one word used in a conventional narrative opening. Quite certainly it was not the "purpose" of the Pardoner—all he wanted to do was to make money. And with equal certainty, Chaucer's eye at the moment was fixed on the Pardoner himself, not on international relations. If such a "purpose" is once referred to the whole pattern which it is alleged to explain, it is rejected instantly. A direct and simple explanation of the apparently mysterious phrase has long been at hand. Skeat said that it probably came from "an original which is now lost";²⁴ and one exemplum of a type which, admittedly, Chaucer must have known begins *In marchia flandrie*.²⁵ For the time being, until we find the poet's precise originals, and in so far as we are interested in his design, that is sufficient answer to the question.

The more pervasive Sermon Heresy, already hinted at in passing, centres attention on the Pardoner's material—or, more exactly, on a part of it—rather than on the Pardoner himself. To do this is to run the risk of overlooking or mistaking Chaucer's "purpose," and so to pervert the direction of the material.

Chaucer had no intention of constructing a medieval sermon, "typical" or otherwise. He did set out to portray a certain remarkable charlatan of a preacher who, in the course of self-revelation, delivers a "sermon" as a sample of his trade-tricks. Fussy as that statement is, it is not quite meticulous enough. For the whole

²³ D. M. Norris, *PMLA*, XLVIII (1933), 641.

²⁴ *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, v, 275. Skeat's note goes on to illustrate the abundance of food and drink in Flanders.

²⁵ K. O. Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 99 n.

homily as actually delivered to simple folk "dwelliſg upon lond" is not set down *verbatim*: part of it is *reported*, in satiric vein, to another kind of audience that is listening not so much to the homily as to the self-revelation. Let us say, merely for the sake of convenience, that the Pardoner fits his rural "sermon" into an "address" delivered to the Pilgrims. It is a joy to watch his off-hand ease at the job of conveying an exposition within an exposition. Into the "prologe" which expounds his method to his present audience is woven a long quotation from a past performance; he slips deftly from indirect to direct report, from enveloping "address" to "sermon" proper and back again: so that, when he announces "my tale I wol bigynne" (C 462), he knows he can proceed full steam ahead with his prize exemplum, since "address" and "sermon" are now running on the same track. He has promised ("I graunte, ywis") to tell a "moral tale," and he will pay the debt in full measure. But with a characteristic difference. He will show how a "moral tale" sounds when told for an immoral purpose:

By God, I hope I shal yow telle a thyng
That shal by reson been at youre likyng.
For though myself be a ful vicious man,
A moral tale yet I yow telle kan,
Which I am wont to preche for to wynne. (C 457-561.)

The "moral tale," that is, belongs to both "sermon" and "address"—only it is doubly interesting in the "address."

So considered, the "sermon" takes its proper place as one element in the design. No one minimizes the value of knowing what the homiletic material is or how well Chaucer knew it. But to get lost in it, I repeat, is to lose sight of what Chaucer is doing.

One special variety of this Heresy that is more than negatively dangerous has lately been aired again in Mr. Carleton Brown's admirable edition of the *Pardoner's Tale*. Mr. Brown and others have not troubled themselves about the "sermon" as "typical," but with its lack of coherence.²⁶ There is no necessary relation, they say, between the "tavern sins," set forth and illustrated at length, and the theme of Avarice with its superb exemplum. It will be remembered that Lounsbury also condemned the "intrusion of irrelevant learning" which "breaks the thread of the tale." Besides, as Mr. Brown points out, there is a clumsy transition where the "riotours thre" suddenly appear (C 661); for previously we have heard only of

a compaignye
Of yonge folk that haunteden folye. (C 463-464.)

²⁶ Brown, *op. cit.*, xv-xx.

From all this discrepancy it is plausibly inferred that Chaucer has put together incongruous materials from different sources and failed to cover up the joints. Dr. Hinckley and Mr. Brown have "accounted for" the trouble by supposing that part or all of the tale was originally written for the Parson and later shifted to its present place.

Clumsiness in introducing the "riotours thre" must be admitted at once. And, probably enough, it does indicate that Chaucer has jumped too suddenly from one kind of exemplum to another. But the clumsiness is slight and unimportant, like the inconsistencies in Shakespeare which everyone notices and promptly forgets. It is reasonable also to suppose (in absence of proof) that Chaucer robbed the Parson to pay the Pardoner. But *why* did he do so? Surely not for the express purpose of committing incongruity! One can hardly be grateful for an "accounting" that involves Chaucer in a major artistic blunder.

Before ratifying the audit, we had better ask if the material is really incongruous. Logically it is, of course. But the Pardoner never set out to achieve logic in preaching to the ignorant. His object "is alwey oon and evere was"—money. And as an extractor of fool's cash, his "sermon" cannot be beaten. Flaunting his relics and no doubt his gaudy cross, he practically blackmails every man and woman (especially woman) of his humble congregations into making an offering.²⁷ His text, *Radix malorum est cupiditas*, gives him a clear pretext for dilating on all *mala* relevant to his hearers, and so a chance to score a bull's eye on every human target in sight. For the so-called "tavern vices"—gluttony, drunkenness, swearing, gambling—are, regrettably, vices to which all flesh alike is heir. If the preacher can fasten all the probable sins of his congregation on the three rioters of his story, he can make it appear from their fate that the love of money is somehow the root of all mortal ills and that the way of salvation lies along the purse-strings. He is not setting up a logical argument but an emotional barrage. By dilating on the sins of rioters (and of his hearers) with all the arts of the popular orator, he creates an air of "heavy fear and sin, the mood of a *Danse Macabre*."²⁸ After this "dilatation" he strikes home with his deadly exemplum on *cupiditas*. And then, following

²⁷ See W. B. Sedgwick, *Modern Language Review*, xix (1924), 336-337.

²⁸ See Germaine Dempster, *Dramatic Irony in Chaucer*, Stanford Univ. Press, 1932, p. 77. Dr. Dempster applied the quoted words to "the specific details of the tavern scene" only. They apply equally well to the discussion of the sins.

close on the account of the robbers' death, comes an irresistible summary and appeal:

Thus ended been thise homycides two,
And eek the false empoysnere also.

O cursed synne of alle cursednesse!
O traytours homycide, O wikkednesse!
O glotonye, luxurie, and hasardrye!
Thou blasphemour of Crist with vileynye
And othes grete, of usage and of pride!
Allas! mankynde, how may it bitide
That to thy creatour, which that the wroghte,
And with his precious herte-blood thee boghte,
Thou are so fals and so unkynde, allas?

Now, goode men, God foryeve yow youre trespas,
And ware yow fro the synne of avarice!
Myn hooly pardoun may yow alle warice,
So that ye offre nobles or sterlynges,
Or elles silver broches, spoones, ringes . . .
Cometh up, ye wyves, offreth of youre wolle! (C 893-910.)

This is something more potent than "logic"—it is demagogic genius. And it "accounts" for the "intrusion of irrelevant learning" quite sufficiently.

The sermon heresies have a close but unexpected relative. Several times I have referred to the "sins of the tavern." In Chaucer criticism this phrase is associated with Professor Frederick Tupper's well-known essay on "The Pardoner's Tavern,"²⁰ in which, with great and learned vivacity, he argued that Chaucer had arranged to have those sins exposed by a preacher who was himself guilty of them. Further, Mr. Tupper insisted that the preacher perform in a tavern, while the Pilgrims were seated around him. Such an exposé of the "tavern sins," said Mr. Tupper, would play ironically against a background of clinking canakins and laughing tap-wenchies.

This view was certainly fresh and provocative in 1914. It added considerably to our knowledge of the "medieval mind," and it was one detail of Mr. Tupper's elaborate scheme wherein each pilgrim figured as denouncing his own besetting sin.²¹ With general consent the scheme has been "exploded";²¹ and consequently part of

²⁰ *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XIII (1914), 553-565.

²⁰ See "Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins," *PMLA*, xxix (1914), 93-128.

²¹ See J. L. Lowes, "Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins," *PMLA*, xxx (1915), 237-371.

Mr. Tupper's argument need not detain us. Evidently, however, the explosion did not quite disrupt the findings of the special essay, for one of them is still accepted in criticism, though it seriously hinders proper understanding of the Pardoner.

Mr. Tupper was certain, I repeat, that the "tavern vices" were actually exposed *in a tavern*. In fact he dared all and sundry to contradict him and, so far as I am aware, no one has accepted the challenge. But not all readers of the Pardoner's Tale have been so confident. I think Mr. Tupper was mistaken in believing that the pardoner of Jusserand's fantasy³²—"still seated . . . on the further bench of the tavern"—was meant to be Chaucer's Pardoner in person: to be exact, Jusserand's taverner is a *typical* figure enjoying himself, "after a well occupied day," in the company of carefully selected pilgrims.³³ Legouis saw the Pardoner go into the tavern for his drink and come out again: "il est entré dans la taverne 'pour s'aviser d'un sujet honnête tout en buvant,' et il en sort décidé à les divertir."³⁴ Professor F. N. Robinson is almost but not quite sure; in his view both "prologue" and tale are "apparently delivered . . . at the tavern."³⁵ "At least," Mr. Robinson goes on to say, "there is no indication that [the Pilgrims] take the road before the Pardoner begins." There is also, I may interject, no certain indication that they do not. But the editor's final inference is that "a story which is . . . an attack upon . . . revelry is told in a tavern."

Now the plain truth is, Chaucer leaves the situation quite ambiguous. At the beginning the Pardoner tells the Host that

heere at this ale-stake
I wol bothe drynke, and eten of a cake. (C 321-322.)

When the gentles protest, he asks for a pause:

but I moot thynke
Upon som honest thyng while that I drynke. (C 327-328.)

Towards the close of his prologue, he remarks,

Now have I dronke a draughte, of corny ale. (C 456.)

After the tale, when the Knight has quieted things down,

Anon they kiste, and ryden forth hir weye. (C 968.)

Those four excerpts provide the whole basis on which any guesses about the situation have to rest. In the first and second a distinct

³² Quoted above, page 434.

³³ *English Wayfaring Life*, p. 331 and p. 332, particularly the passage quoted on page 434 of this essay.

³⁴ *Geoffroy Chaucer*, Paris, 1910, p. 185.

³⁵ *Cambridge Chaucer*, p. 834.

pause is indicated. The third may well suggest that the Pardoner has been consuming his ale during the course of the "prologue"—in which case the Pilgrims may be gathered in front of the booth. The fourth quotation would seem to imply that there was no prolonged hiatus between the kissing and the riding forth. It is at least possible that, after a pause to suit the Pardoner's convenience, the Pilgrims rode on, their entertainer talking to the usual accompaniment of hooves and harness.

But that literal tavern interior of Mr. Tupper's will never do. Only a frivolous person, I suppose, would wonder how the "tap-wench" and the proprietor of the ale-stake liked strenuous attacks on their livelihood—especially if delivered on their own premises. And Harry Bailly—he too wanted a drink, but as an inn-keeper would he feel justified in being a party to such a disturbance of the peace? Further, it is difficult to enjoy the spectacle of the Lady Prioress standing with the Pardoner at a bar-rail. As for the alleged absurdity of asking the Host to climb down from his horse and kneel on the ground—which is Mr. Tupper's trump-card—that is precisely what triumphant impudence might propose, "Al newe and fressh at every miles ende," and precisely what the Pardoner saw the Host would never agree to do.

As so very often, a commonplace consideration has been overlooked. If Chaucer had had the slightest interest in providing a "tavern background," he would have provided one. Since he did not, we may infer, what should have been obvious from the start, that he was concentrating the whole of his effort on the character and directing his reader's whole attention to the same object. Mr. Tupper's tavern-ironies are irrelevant as well as improbable. Chaucer saw sufficient irony in the spectacle of the Pardoner inveighing against his own sins, perfectly aware that he was doing so. And he provided the required tavern atmosphere in sufficient quantity without any help from the tap-wench.

The Tavern Heresy, like its fellows, puts stress on the wrong thing—on the sins not on the sinner, on the situation not on the person in it. Certainly Chaucer never meant to do anything of the sort. This time, however, one is grateful to the error for being so attractive and so informing.

III

What follows is mostly "subjective interpretation" of the Pardoner and his behaviour. A good deal of it has been outlined, in passing, during the course of the review just concluded; and what will now be said is very largely an amalgam of findings which I

think have been established by two generations of criticism. There has to be a good deal of conjecture in the amalgam, since all "interpretation" is, in part, fundamentally conjectural. This, one may insist, does not make the process any the less important or indeed the less imperative. But to say that Chaucer was an artist and usually knew what he was doing is not too brave an assumption. Consequently, when you read on one page of a book that the Pardoner's discourse is a "work of art" and a few pages farther on that it is chargeable with some glaring inconsistency or excrescence, you suspect a lapse in the critic's own mind. Perhaps, if he had risked a little more "conjecture," he would have arrived at a conclusion more consistent. No doubt Chaucer nodded like all other artists, but I think he did not often snore. With that conjecture in mind, I have tried to exhibit the whole Pardoner Scheme as what I firmly believe it to be—a powerfully consistent work of art.

It is convenient to study the Pardoner's development in five stages: (1) his portrait in the General Prologue, (2) his interruption of the Wife of Bath's discourse, (3) the "head-link," (4) his "address," consisting of a prologue, the "sermon" proper, and a "benediction," (5) the epilogue, consisting of the Pardoner's "afterthought," as I shall call it, his quarrel with the Host, and the Knight's peace-making. In spite of debate about the position of (2), I am sure Chaucer must have intended these stages to be considered in that order; and in so considering them I shall try to remember that artistic divisions are not water-tight. The whole scheme outlined above must be studied as in one block.

1. To begin at the very beginning, one should note the first appearance of the word Pardoner:

Ther was also a Reve, and a Millere,
A Somnour, and a Pardoner also,
A Maunciple, and myself. (A 542-544.)

With due reservations about "myself" (how blandly impudent it is!), that is the Pardoner's gang: the slums of the Pilgrimage, tellers of harlotries all of them—except "myself" and the one who would have told the worst harlotry if he had been allowed. Mr. Curry notes that there is no evidence of contact between the Pardoner and respectable folk. There certainly is not. None of the "gentils" would touch him with the proverbial pole, and even Harry Bailly's final intimate contact was effected under stern duress.

The only Pilgrim who rides with him is the scabby Summoner, "his freend and his compeer"—an association that quietly insists on attention. In one of the documents quoted by Dr. Owst,²⁰ Bishop

²⁰ *Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 104 n.

Grandisson flays "*vos archi-diaconorum officiales, vestrive commissarii et registrarii, saeva cupiditate dampnabiliter excecati*," who wink at unlawful preaching and encourage it for personal profit. As in the partnership of physician and apothecary,

ech of hem made oother for to wyne—
Hir frendshipe nas nat newe to bigynne.

Alongside his "compeer," the Pardoner leaps to sight as suddenly as a jinni out of the smoke:

With hym ther rood a gentil Pardoner . . .
That streight was comen fro the court of Rome.
Ful loude he soong "Com hider, love, to me!"
This Somonour bar to hym a stif burdoun;
Was nevere trompe of half so greet a soun. (A 669-674.)

Of the companionship so established, Professor H. R. Patch remarks that it is "the most violent satire in all of Chaucer's poetry."⁸⁷ He means that these lines thrust without warning into the worst corruption of the medieval church in all its branches; and he is justified in using strong words, though he must be thinking of the corruption rather than of Chaucer's verses. Chaucer plainly means those lines to be arresting. But I should prefer to say "contradiction" instead of "satire"; and "broadly comic" instead of "violent." That famous first couplet challenges the ear by a heightened pitch of the same cool impudence which has been noticed before and which is everywhere characteristic of Chaucer. The Pardoner would be quite capable of explaining that he learned his ditty from the Pope and of calling on the Summoner for corroboration. Though that would be the Pardoner's joke, not Chaucer's, the couplet does manage to convey something like its temper in a less "violent" form. Those two lines announce the theme, so to speak, of a whole tone-poem; and the "stif burdoun" of the Summoner supports it with a sort of horribly hearty counterpoint.

I have used the word "contradiction" advisedly. All interpretations of the Pardoner have to play upon the contradictory theme of "hypocrite" or "charlatan" suggested in the ironical couplet. At point after point, as the portrait develops, a duplicity lurks in statements or hints are apparently plain. Does the walletful of pardons come from Rome all hot, or does the Pardoner merely say so? Is he or is he not in minor orders? Does he believe in the efficacy of relics or is he completely cynical about them? To anticipate a later part of the scheme, is he or is he not capable of reverence? There are, of

⁸⁷ *On Rereading Chaucer*, Harvard Press, 1939, p. 164.

course, no two opinions about his charlatanism. But there is no final making-up of the mind about the Charlatan himself. Did Chaucer "hate" him, as Mr. Patch believes, or did he not, or did he "hate" him only sometimes, or was he nothing more than immensely entertained by him? It is usually sentimental to press or even to put questions like these last, but they do arise without offense in the strange case of the Pardoner. That is why I have thought it worth while to spend so much space on four lines. I might allow Mr. Patch to call them "startling irony."

No other portrait in the General Prologue prepares for its outcome in so minute a fashion. Evidently, Chaucer must have seen exactly what he was going to do with the Pardoner by the time he felt able to describe him in such detail and with such complete foreshadowing. Notwithstanding the doubts of Koch³⁸ and one or two others, there is no real difficulty in reconciling the relics named in the Prologue (A 694-700) with those the Preacher showed to the rustics (C 347 ff): one list merely expands the other in perfectly straightforward fashion. Chaucer was not telling his story to children who forbid the teller to "vary events by so much as one small devil." But with extraordinary fidelity, as he proceeds with the plan, he does develop every major and minor theme announced in the Pardoner's portrait: irreverence, lust, shameless exhibitionism, physical impotency, avarice, superb skill as charlatan. One theme not announced there—his drinking—is supplied by his association with the Summoner.

2. The Pardoner interrupts the Wife's discourse just where he *would* interrupt it as an expert professional—at the conclusion of one of her numerous little homilies. And he does so in his own surprising manner:

Up stirte the Pardoner, and that anon:

"Now, dame, . . ."

Ye been a noble prechour in this cas." (D 163-165.)

The "cas" is the sexual relation, which naturally interests the singer of "Come hider, love, to me." He is later to say he will "have a jolly wenche in every toun," but at the moment he is more decorous: "I was aboute to wedde a wyf." This is jocosity, of course. But in view of his profession and his House of Rouncivale, it is impudent; and in the light of the portrait, dangerously shameless. This, I take it, is the reason why the Wife of Bath broadly hints that his outburst is due to drink. She speaks firmly, but I think with a certain

³⁸ *The Pardoner's Prologue and Tale*, Chaucer Society, Second Series, 1902, p. xxix.

veiled and allusive moderation which you would not expect from her. "You had best look out," she says; "if you get married, you may drink an ale far more bitter. Take heed or some one will make an example of you." The Pardoner promptly and wisely withdraws, but not without another bit of impudence:

... teche us yonge men of youre praktike.

The incident is unimportant enough in itself, but it conveys a good deal of suggestion. Beside making one of the little diversions which Chaucer likes, it brings the Pardoner actively upon the stage for a moment, touches up some salient points of the portrait, prepares for a later warning that will be more vigorous, and ever so lightly suggests a possible exposure.

Even if this interpretation be rejected, the very nature of the incident would appear to forbid placing it *after* the Pardoner's main performance; in other words, the Pardoner's tale must follow the Wife of Bath's. Mr. Curry does not place it so, apparently accepting the Chaucer Society's order without question; and he could bring powerful support³⁹ to his aid if he wished to. I have no desire to thicken the darkness that still envelopes the order of the Canterbury Tales, or indeed to discuss the question at all except in so far as it affects a study of the Pardoner. But unless Chaucer has been guilty of a surprising lapse, the interruption simply cannot follow the tale. In the first place, such an order would involve the flattest kind of anti-climax: for the Pardoner's performance as interrupter is excellent as such, but frightfully feeble as compared with his efficiency as preacher. The minor episode, as I have shown, has value considered as merely preparatory, but next to none at all considered as epilogue. Further, *if* it is an epilogue, it shows the Pardoner up as a complete fool. After the appalling exposé he suffers at Harry Bailly's hands, he would be the last person, as Mr. Curry should agree, to "entremette" himself into a discussion of marriage or of any question involving sex. Once bitten, twice shy. Now if any view of Chaucer's design is more secure than another, it is that he never imagined the Pardoner as an idiot—as he would be if he courted a second exposure. No doubt Chaucer's general plan changed in the course of development; no doubt he might find that a change involved a wrong disposition⁴⁰ of Rouchestre and Sidyngborne on the Canterbury road, or some other similar trouble.

³⁹ See S. Moore's article, "The Position of Group C etc.," *PMLA*, xxx (1915), 116-122; and J. S. P. Tatlock, "The Canterbury Tales in 1400," *PMLA*, L (1935), 100-139.

⁴⁰ This would occur only if Groups C and B² must be joined together. See Moore, *op. cit.*

But, if he did, he would surely find it better to shuffle two names than to risk a dramatic fatuity.⁴¹

3. The Pardoner's "head-link" is worth more attention than it has got or can now get. I think there is a not too subtle dig in Harry Bailly's summons to the new story-teller, "thou beel amy, thou Pardoner" (C 318). *Beel amy* is a "common form of address," as the editors stingily say; but this is its only occurrence in Chaucer, and it can be read as conveying a leer from the Host, whose French is surely rather unexpected. There is also a hint of return thrust, as well as eager zest, in the Pardoner's echoing of Harry's dubious saint:

"It shall be doon," quod he, "by Seint Ronyon!"

Other things, however, are more significant than these trifles; and one of them can easily be overlooked.

Harry Bailly would not be sensitive to the Pardoner's abomination, but the gentles were. And their swift outcry—

But right anon thise gentils gonne to crye—

has a double importance. On its surface it recalls the portrait of the rascal as he has appeared to the respectable part of the Pilgrimage: too clever to be predictable, physically abnormal, disturbingly contradictory, scoundrelly beyond words, a clear candidate for interdict. Even the Wife of Bath has eyed him darkly. As for the bawdry which the Miller had already uttered in their hearing without much protest, they had expected he would tell "his cherles tale in his manere," and they had known the worst he could do before he began. But they were troubled by the Pardoner's duplicity: altogether too visible on the one hand, and on the other a quite unknown quantity. If the inevitable fabliau came from the visible side, no doubt they could stand it; it was the other quarter they feared. *Ignotum pro horrendo*. This, I believe, is a possible reading of the gentles' mind, or of what Chaucer thought would be there.

The most interesting thing about their protest, however, is its dramatic usefulness. As the text plainly states, it wards off a fabliau and demands doctrine:

Nay, lat hym telle us of no ribaudye!

Telle us som moral thyng.

These commands the Pardoner knows he dare not disobey: "I graunte, ywis." But at the same time they have confronted him with

⁴¹ On other grounds, Koch and Tupper likewise place the Pardoner's Tale after Group D. The manuscripts, I believe, are unanimous in so placing it, along with Group B².

a galling choice. He knows plenty of moral things, but to tell one *as such* is completely out of his character and habit; and what is more, he knows the Pilgrims know that also. To recite the bare exemplum before *this* audience is to cramp his style intolerably, for the usual effect is not in view. At the moment there can be only one effect that will redound to his glory: since he is known to be a charlatan, he can prove he is the cleverest of his kind from Berwick unto Ware. In short, he must tell a story at once moral and his own. No wonder he pauses for a moment:

but I moot thynke
Upon som honest thyng while that I drynke.

But only for a moment. We can easily imagine his rapid thinking as he swallows the ale: "I have it! The Wife of Bath made a hit with her confessions. Why shouldn't I follow her example and give an exhibition, with running comment, of my technique? They have asked for morality and they shall have it; but it will be morality, with my special difference, from the mouth of a dark horse. There can be no risk. Here and now I am perfectly secure." Much of this is naked "assumption," but it is assumption harmonious with the immediate context and with the general manner of the Canterbury cycle. By the device of the "protest" Chaucer jockeys his Pardoner into a corner from which he can escape in only one way, and this he takes after pausing but a moment. The charlatan's self-revelation is, therefore, not only "credible" on other grounds, it is as near to dramatic inevitability as it can be made.

4. He loses no time in getting to work:

"Lordynges," quod he, "in chirches whan I preche,
I peyne me to han an hauteyn speche." (C 329-330.)

Some important aspects of the "address" that follows have already been discussed fully enough. Sometimes I think it would be good sport for a scholar like Mr. C. S. Lewis, who can write Middle English verse with unashamed skill, to reconstruct the whole of the "sermon" which the Pardoner was wont to preach to villagers. The exploit might help to lay the ghost of the "typical sermon"; for if carried out and read intelligently, it might show why Chaucer did *not* write one. But such a sport may require the services of another Pardoner. Having only Chaucer's to go by, we must never forget the rascal's dilemma and his effort to escape from it. The way out was not to preach a "typical sermon" (or one of his own), or to tell a "perfect short story." What he did was to fuse two elements diametrically opposed: the sermon and narrative which in themselves

faced one way, the self-revelation which faced another. Nothing could be plainer than his own statement:

Thus kan I preche agayn that same vice
Which that I use, and that is avarice.
But though myself be gilty in that synne,
Yet kan I maken oother folk to twynne
From avarice, and soore to repente.
But that is nat my principal entente;
I preche nothyng but for coveitise. (C 427-433.)

The Pilgrims were thereby privileged to see a truly marvellous spectacle of the devil calling sinners to repentance, actually achieving that result, and getting pay for his "assoillyng"!

The Pardoner's "prologe," like many other things in Chaucer, is carefully constructed to give an air of improvisation. Apparently it rambles, as if the draught of corny ale were working: the speaker seems to be uttering just what comes into his head. With perfect casualness, he suggests a picture of his rural victims; he digresses to give a graphic imitation of himself at work in front of them—

. . . it is joye to se my bisynesse;

over and over he rings it out, "as round as gooth a belle," that he preaches "nothing but for coveitise." For this occasion he shortens or merely reports the display of cheap fireworks by which he awes the yokel, and he takes his immediate audience by the more potent fascination of himself. As soon as this is duly exercised, he can carry out the letter of his promise:

herkneth, lordynges, in conclusion:
Youre likyng is that I shal telle a tale. . .
For though myself be a ful vicious man,
A moral tale yet I yow telle kan. (C 454-460.)

He can now tell his great story as if his two audiences, past and present, were one—as they are in interest, but with what difference in feeling!

The difference is important for two reasons: first, because it affects the closing episode, as we shall soon see, and secondly, because the Pardoner's new audience includes, in a sense, all readers of the tale. Chaucer cannot pause, any more than a dramatist ever can, to display the reaction of the gentles and the others. But if a reader will try to imagine the effect the Pardoner produces on the Pilgrims, he will also be analyzing the effect upon himself. There can be no doubt that the Knight, for instance, is listening intently.

To him, the speaker may be loathsome, but he is likewise fascinating. As a devout man, the Knight is revolted by this public exposure of the Church's corruption: if Mr. Patch wishes, he feels the effect as "violently satiric." And no doubt, he feels a sort of anger as he imagines what damage these foxes do in the vineyard:

I rekke nevere, whan that they been beryed,
Though that hir soules goon a-blakeberyed! (C 405-406.)

To him, therefore, the exemplum will be all the more shocking because of its very power. The moral tale which "shal by resoun been at youre likyng"—one of the Pardoner's little ironies—is really as vicious as the teller. The contradiction we noted in the Pardoner at the beginning is the core of his performance at the end.

5. There remain the curious and difficult questions raised by the "benediction" and the closing episode. What is the state of the Pardoner's mind as he ends the story and goes on in his "after-thought"? What is the exact significance of the quarrel between Host and Pardoner and of the Knight's intervention?

To the first question, Mr. Carleton Brown proposes a "simpler solution" than ordinary by declining to raise it.⁴² The Clerk, he says, ends a serious tale on "a becoming note of gravity" and then relapses "into playful banter": so also the Pardoner. It is hard to see what this parallel, in itself very dubious, "solves"; and I think one need only state it to find it altogether too "simple." If subtleties really exist, they are not "solved" by waving them aside. And as I have been trying to show, Chaucer's design in this whole affair is very subtly complicated: it extorts "interpretation," however much one may shrink from the process. The Pardoner's benediction or "closing formula" (often so-called) is a most insistent case in point.

His "sermon" is finished:

And lo, sires, thus I preche.
And Jhesu Crist, that is oure soules leche,
So graunte yow his pardoun to receyve,
For that is best; I wol yow nat deceyve. (C 915-918.)

Everyone who reads these last three lines finds them moving and strange, and to almost everyone they seem to come in a questionable shape. Lacking Mr. Brown's ability to pass them over, we again ask what impulses lie behind them.

First and most emphatically, they are not the "closing formula" of the *sermon*, though undoubtedly they have a gravity befitting the

⁴² Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

superb story and the moving appeal which have just been uttered. But the Pardoner had ended his "sermon" when he said, "Io, sires, thus I preche." He is now speaking to the Pilgrims only, all pretense laid aside, concluding the entertainment which the Host had called on him to furnish, and presumably about to retire to his place alongside the Summoner. At least ten of his fellow-pilgrims conclude their turns with a benediction (in several cases very unedifying); and, of course, medieval narrative generally ends on some such conventional note. Primarily, therefore, the Pardoner is again "following a tradition." The point might seem obvious in itself, and it has not gone unnoticed in criticism. But of the two best-known answers to our question, one passes lightly over the obvious and the second neglects it altogether.

In "The Pardoner's Secret," Mr. Curry recognizes the element of tradition, yet nevertheless speaks of it as the beginning of a "master-stroke of deception."⁴³ Noting that the Pilgrims may be under his spell, the Pardoner is said to see them as another and fatter flock of victims. Then, to report Mr. Curry, he turns to them suddenly and tells them that this is the way he preaches to *ignorant* people; but *they*, the Pilgrims, are his friends, and he prays that *they* may receive Christ's pardon; he would never deceive *them*; consequently they are to come and kiss the relics.

This version of the benediction is, I believe, quite untenable. First, in order to arrive at it, Mr. Curry is compelled to do queer things with Chaucer's metre. But, what is really important, he makes the "sudden turning" come at the wrong place. He forgets that he has noted the presence of traditional custom; and his paraphrase obscures the very patent shift which occurs in the Pardoner's speech and manner at the *close* of the so-called "formula." For at this point, as plainly as words and verse can indicate it, there is a marked transition to what I have called the "afterthought":

... For that is best; I wol yow nat deceyve—

so closes the benediction. And then follows something in a vein unmistakably different:

But, sires, o word forgat I in my tale:

I have relikes and pardoun in my male.⁴⁴ (C 919-920.)

Correct placing of this shift might have been another warning to Mr. Curry not to regard either the benediction or the "afterthought"

⁴³ *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, p. 67. Legouis (*op. cit.*, p. 187) seems to take a similar view; so, also, R. F. Jones, *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, xxiv (1925), 535.

⁴⁴ For another transition of a not dissimilar kind, compare the Clerk's Tale, E 1163.

as deceit. On the contrary, I am very sure, the one is quite serious and sincere. And as for the other, I am just as sure that it is ironic banter. Only an utter fool would *seriously* ask the Knight and the Monk, not to speak of the Host, to kneel down or else give money "at every miles ende." Though the Pardoner is defective physically, he has his wits about him; there is no need to write him down an ass, as Mr. Curry does on two separate occasions. And, in Mr. Brown's phrase, "an experienced salesman" would never in one breath twit a buyer with being guilty of both sin and waistline, especially when the buyer is Harry Bailly. The "afterthought" cannot be rationally read except as a piece of impudent horseplay.

Of all comments on the benediction the most important occurs in an essay on "Chaucer's Pardoner" by Professor George Lyman Kittredge, published as long ago as 1893,⁴⁵ and substantially repeated in *Chaucer and His Poetry*⁴⁶ of 1915. This famous essay still remains by long odds the most complete and satisfying study of the Pardoner ever made. In many respects it seems final. But I agree with Mr. Curry in finding its solution of the final problems unacceptable, though on very different grounds.

Mr. Kittredge believes that the Pardoner "ought to have stopped" at the close of the exemplum; and that he is carried beyond the proper limits by the histrionic excitement of his preaching. Then (so Mr. Kittredge thinks) realizing that the appeal for repentance and offering, which follows the tale, cannot be directed to the pilgrims, he suddenly cuts it off; and, remembering he once "preached for Christ's sake," he utters a solemn benediction in "a very paroxysm of agonized sincerity." But the mood of revulsion can be only momentary. In order to cover up his indiscretion he plunges at once into "a wild orgy of reckless jesting," in which he describes his presence as "a regular insurance policy" for the pilgrimage and demands premiums for the same.

This rough summary of two pages from *Chaucer and His Poetry*⁴⁷ falls far short of justice to Mr. Kittredge's persuasive argument. The original passage and its context cast a spell very unlike the Pardoner's in intention but nearly equal in effect. It *may* tell the whole truth; and every time I read it, I am tempted to throw overboard every conclusion of my own. But in my cooler moments it appears to me based on a too narrowly selected portion of the text and on a view of the whole document that incurs more difficulty than it resolves.

⁴⁵ *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXII, 829-833.

⁴⁶ Harvard Press, 1915, pp. 211-218.

⁴⁷ Pp. 216-217.

There is a fallacy concealed not only in the summary given above but in Mr. Kittredge's own pages. His belief that the Pardoner says too much results from what may be called retroactive reasoning. For it could never have occurred to Mr. Kittredge (let alone the ordinary reader) except as a throw-back from the doctrine of benedictory paroxysm. *If* this doctrine is to hold, *then* it is necessary to go back and regard the Pardoner's sermon as too long for his own comfort. But for such a view Chaucer himself gives no warrant in any sign or hint or warning whatsoever. In other words, he must have set about to fool us readers (not to speak of the pilgrims) just as thoroughly as the Pardoner fooled the ignorant folk. And, in that event, we should almost inevitably be fooled into missing a sight of the paroxysm also. (Actually, as Mr. Kittredge notes, everybody in the pilgrimage does miss it.) Such are the implications of his argument, and somehow we do not like to believe anything so uncomplimentary to ourselves. Even a writer of detective yarns drops one or two clues that we could have picked up if we had been alert enough. No life-line of the sort is discernible in the 667 lines of verse which Chaucer previously devotes to the Pardoner. Such deception of an audience is not the usual habit of an artist; and we may therefore be inclined to doubt if Chaucer intended any such thing.

What hints *did* Chaucer drop about his intention? They would seem plentiful enough. First we may revert to the end of the "prologue":

A moral tale yet I yow telle kan,
Which I am wont to preche for to wynne. (C 460-461.)

Now the "moral tale" is only one part—admittedly the most highly coloured—of a whole pattern. But the "wynning" is another, equally important in its way. Half-a-dozen times over, the Pardoner says as much to the pilgrims. No doubt he *could* have stopped at the point where Death overtook the Robbers, but then the final strokes of his genius in extortion would have gone unseen. And such a killing as he always made! One remembers that

Upon a day he gat hym moore moneye
Than that the person gat in monthes tweye, (A 703-704.)

and that he had

wonne, yeer by yeer,
An hundred mark sith [he] was pardoner. (C 389-390.)

Chaucer was exhibiting more than a form of narrative and homiletic art: he was exhibiting also a charlatan's power over folk whose

souls went blackberrying. How utterly irresistible that power was we have already noted in the terrific summing-up and call to repentance which follows the grim exemplum. If it is true that portrait, "prologue," and all must be read as one block, as I believe they must, it is a mistake to say that Chaucer meant the Pardoner to "preach" too long.

A second difficulty with Mr. Kittredge's view is by this time familiar. The benediction is neither so "sudden" nor so "unexpected," as he says. As we have seen, it was the end, not of the "sermon," but of his performance as under contract to the Host; and the Pardoner is following a convention that any story-teller might be expected to observe. Of this simple but important fact Mr. Kittredge makes no mention. The words of the "formula" are indeed solemn—no more so, by the way, than the Man of Law's benediction⁴⁸—and they ought to be solemn, in order to harmonize with the tone of what precedes. They are, I shall point out, a thoroughly sincere expression of personal feeling, and in a very real sense they may be called surprising. But the surprise is one that needs no previous hint or sign. At any rate, it bears no necessary mark of paroxysm.

Nor can the "afterthought" be properly described as "a wild orgy of reckless jesting." Undoubtedly a critic is bound to call it that if he commits himself to the paroxysm theory; for if there is a paroxysm, there must, I suppose, be some sort of corresponding reaction. One may be excused, however, for finding Mr. Kittredge's prose paraphrase of the wild orgy⁴⁹ rather more surprising than Chaucer's verses, which are no more extravagant than anything said about or by the Pardoner elsewhere. Indeed they are the sort of utterance one expects either from the character depicted in the portrait or after his impudence in interrupting the Wife of Bath and the shamelessness of his own "prologue." A man who comes straight from Rome to sing a love-song and boast of his jolly wenches needs no orgiastic stimulus to be capable of anything in the "afterthought."

Finally, this theory imposes a forward-looking compulsion on the quarrel between Pardoner and Host. Mr. Kittredge sees nothing but "rough jocularity" in the Host's reply to the *beel amy*, of whose "emotional crisis" neither Host nor any one else can know; and he attributes the Pardoner's speechless anger at Harry Bailly to another turn of emotion arising from that crisis. But the text at this point bears a different and painfully obvious meaning. One would hate to face the Host when jocularity steps over the line into mere

⁴⁸ B 1160-1162.

⁴⁹ *Chaucer and His Poetry*, p. 217.

roughness. As a matter of plain fact—here Mr. Curry and the Portrait come into their own—Harry Bailly flings the Pardoner's impotence full in his face, meaning "no offense" by it, only "rough jocularity"! Hamlet had a word for fun like this: "No, no, they do but jest, poison in jest, no offence i' th' world." A man may be aware that a member of his company is afflicted with physical defect or deformity; but to mention the fact, in language however moderate, is a fighting offense. And the Host's language has never been accused of moderation. The worst of such "jocularity" is that it cannot be answered in words. No previous emotional crisis is needed to account for the Pardoner's wrathful silence.

The argument just outlined leads me to reject Mr. Kittredge's interpretation of the episode. The substitute I propose is far less spectacular, but it does represent an attempt to read the document in the light of the whole Pardoner-scheme.

The portrait, it will be recalled, begins with an ironic contradiction and supports this theme by posing a number of irresolvable ambiguities. The scoundrel pictured there is intensely vivid and at the same time curiously baffling; and the disturbance he creates is revolting to physical and moral sense alike. Physically and morally he is charlatanism incarnate. When he interrupts the Wife of Bath, the general effect of the portrait is dramatically though vaguely reinforced. It begins to take on a clear dramatic outline in the Host's leering summons and the protests of the gentlefolk, and it fills out into savage clarity in the "prologue." The Pardoner's "address" is a prolonged working-out of the discord struck at the very beginning. Such, in the view of this study, is a summary of the process up to the benediction.

According to such a view the Pardoner is in control of himself and his speech throughout. No one can deny that he does what he is told to do, but he does it in his own characteristic and shocking way. When his stint has been performed—"Lo, sires, thus I preche"—he prepares to take his leave of the stage. What he now says to the Pilgrims is in a way surprising at the moment but not inharmonious, when you come to think of it, with what went before. Of course a benediction is partly a matter of traditional formula. But in it, if ever at any time, a Pardoner may be allowed to say something at once sincere and stripped of shamelessness. "I have not deceived you," he says in effect, "nor will I do so now. The false 'assoillyng' I have just exhibited tends to destruction; but there is a cure for souls that is truly efficacious. I have proclaimed myself a charlatan, but I would not have you think me a heretic." In Chaucer's verse this is no paroxysm but a dignified and eloquent farewell.

The teller of the Quest for Death knows what dignity is even if he does not put his knowledge into practice very often; and five centuries of listeners have never denied him eloquence. There is "some good" in the Pardoner, as two English editors say with commendable restraint.⁵⁰ Tomorrow, perhaps, he will even be afraid and tremble "before that formidable power which he said he held in his hands and of which he has made a toy."⁵¹

It would have been well for the Pardoner if this eloquent note had been his last. Here, not earlier, is the point at which he overreached himself; and he did so, I believe, because he was tempted where he was weakest. Chaucer, it seems to me, had made up his mind that this lofty rogue should take a fall—not necessarily that Chaucer "hated" him but because, in slang phrase, he had been asking for trouble. Of all people in the Pilgrimage, the Pardoner most deserves to be thrown: there can be no clearer case for meting out poetic justice. At any rate, the fall was arranged.

I imagine that a hush has fallen over the pilgrims as the Pardoner brings his "sermon" to a close. No one, not even the Host, has a word to say. True, there is no basis for this assumption in the text except that a shift is plainly indicated there. The preacher evidently *intends* to stop, does stop in fact—and then goes on. He says he "forgot one thing"—which he had fully developed only a few lines previously—and then continues in a vein very different from the preceding. I should like to suggest, moreover, that a shift from moral revulsion to wild jesting would also seem to require a second or two for the readjustment. But frankly, my chief basis for the assumption lies in my own experience in reading the poem. The tale itself is impressive beyond words; the summary and appeal that follow it are appallingly impressive in another way; and the solemn benediction crowns it all with a third emphasis. It is a performance that might well impose silence. The Pilgrims' reaction, already analyzed in the person of the Knight, would not differ in kind from that of the ordinary intelligent reader; probably it would not be feebler. And, except Mr. Curry, every critic who has stopped to comment, no matter how he "interprets" the benediction, notes a shift in tone as the Pardoner passes on to the "afterthought." To my fancy there is a momentary hush where the change occurs.

The Pardoner, as I see him, looks around at the silent pilgrimage with perhaps some surprise and certainly deep satisfaction. Since Harry Bailly has nothing ready to say, he moves on his own behalf as swiftly as he did on a previous occasion. It suddenly

⁵⁰ Drennan and Wyatt, *The Pardoner's Tale*, Clive, London, 1911, p. 24.

⁵¹ *English Wayfaring Life*, p. 333.

occurs to him, "They have been impressed in spite of themselves! What do they think now of the man forbid? I will get some fun out of their embarrassment." The hush has flattered the preacher's vanity and so leads to his undoing. Tempted beyond measure, he lets fling at the Pilgrims with his impudently ironic joke, all guards down. His brother, daun Russell, could have given him a warning:

"Nay," quod the fox, "but God yeve hym meschaunce,
That is so undiscreet of governaunce
That jangleth whan he sholde holde his pees."

Unhappily for the Preaching Fox, there is no one at hand to warn him; and so, in Mr. Curry's pretty pun, he blunders into reckoning without his Host. To tell the truth, Harry Bailly has scarcely reckoned with himself. He is ashamed to have been so impressed; he feels, quite rightly, that the Pardoner of all people is making a fool of *him*; and he is angry. I believe the evidence of anger is plain. The Host is indeed prone to "rough jocularity," witness his "words" to the Cook, the Franklin, the Physician, Chaucer himself, the Monk, the Nun's Priest, the Manciple.⁵² But his words to the Pardoner pass the jocular limit. For sheer obscene brutality they have no parallel in the *Canterbury Tales*—and that is saying a good deal. Then, as the Pardoner is left speechless, he compounds the injury by pointing to his victim's rage.

Even that is not all. The Pilgrims are laughing, relieved to get their own weakness withdrawn to cover, amused at the Host's discomfiture, and more than delighted at the quick deflation of a swollen bubble. It looks to the Knight as if anything might happen, and he therefore steps in to direct the crisis in his usual masterly way. He feels that the Pardoner, thoroughly evil though he is, has provided superb entertainment and has been exposed with a blatancy quite too cruel. He therefore orders the Host to take the initiative in making amends: he says "ye" to Harry Bailly and "thee" to the Pardoner. That kiss which they exchange—it will not necessarily be fatal—is a supreme stroke of comic irony. This is the very note which Chaucer struck at the beginning of the Pardoner's portrait in the General Prologue. We are back where we began.

The end should warn us not to inject "violent satire" into the beginning. Love-song and kiss are widely separated; but they are products of the same temper, which is the temper of Human Comedy and therefore neither violent nor satiric. We begin and end the whole affair with a laugh that need not be either strident or bit-

⁵² In order, the passages are A 4344-4355; F 695-702; C 304-310; B² 2109-2121; B³ 3119-3154; B² 4637-4651; H 69-75.

ter unless we feel inclined to be so in ourselves. Satirists have their own laudable work to do, but Chaucer is not one of them. He cannot be said to "hate" the Pardoner any more than he "hates" the Host: Harry Bailly too is "enveloped in synne" and, as chief offender, he is made to administer the kiss to his *beel amy*. Contrariwise, Chaucer does not "pity" the Pardoner any more than the Host does: he merely deals with him in a different fashion. Is it possible that words like "hate" and "pity" indicate a sentimental wish to make Chaucer a partisan on one's own side?

All this is very far from implying that Chaucer was easily tolerant of evil. That would be silly. Far from tolerating the charlatan, he *presented* him, fully-rounded and without reservation; and the effect is immeasurably more impressive than any satirist can achieve within the limitations of his trade. It was not Chaucer's business to issue warrants against the House of Rouncivale. It *was* his business to *see* one remarkable member of the House and to write down what he saw. Now that the moral issue has been raised, we need only say that Chaucer enables us to sharpen our senses against the scourge and blight of charlatanism. This I know, for with his help I have watched quacks vending medicine and politics and religion in our own day.

Such is one view of the Pardoner as he emerges from a progress through the "modern mind."

University of British Columbia

THE FRIENDSHIP OF THOMAS MORE AND JOHN COLET: AN EARLY DOCUMENT

By WILLIAM NELSON

A great deal has been written about the friendship of Thomas More and John Colet, but very little seems to be known about its beginnings. Seebohm's delightful *Oxford Reformers* does indeed suggest that their relationship began when More was an eager adolescent fourteen or fifteen years old: "Colet probably had known More from childhood. Their fathers were both too much of public men to be unknown to each other, and though Colet was twelve years older than young More when they most likely met at Oxford in 1492-3, their common studies under Grocyn and Linacre were likely to bring them into contact."¹ But, as R. W. Chambers points out in his recent biography of More, Seebohm's description of an Oxford study in which Grocyn and Linacre handed on the torch of Greek learning to Colet and More, though "pretty," is altogether "imaginary."² Indeed, even if More did meet Colet during his two short years at Oxford, their friendship at the university could scarcely have been either protracted or familiar. In 1493 or 1494, when Colet is said to have left Oxford for a visit to Italy, More was but fifteen years old; by the time Colet returned, More had resigned Oxford for London and had already been admitted to the bar. Nor does the fact that Erasmus became acquainted with both More and Colet during his visit to England in 1497-1499 provide ground more solid than Seebohm's fiction, for the mathematical axiom cannot be transmutated into "friends of the same person are necessarily friends of each other."

The earliest documentary evidence for the association of the two humanists which has hitherto been published is a letter written by More to Colet, probably on October 23, 1504.³ Chambers summarizes the letter: "More, walking in the law courts, had met Colet's servant, and writes to say how sorry he is to find that this does not mean that Colet himself is back in town. Town, of course is a hateful place — devoted to the service of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil: nothing but 'confectioners, fishmongers, butchers, cooks, carriers, fishermen, and fowlers.' He doesn't blame Colet for preferring the country; but why not come at least as near as Stepney [the suburban parish of which Colet was vicar until September, 1505], which also needs his ministrations?"⁴ The tone of the letter suggests that the correspondents had long been warm friends:

¹ Everyman's Library edition (London, n. d.), p. 14.

² *Thomas More* (London, 1936), p. 66.

³ Stapleton, *Tres Thomae*, Part III, translated by P. E. Hallett, *The Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More* (London, 1928), pp. 11-13. More gives only the day of the month. But see Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁴ Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

"No annoyance that I could suffer is to be compared with the loss of your companionship which is so dear to me. It has been my custom to rely upon your prudent advice, to find my recreation in your pleasant company. . . ."⁶ But we have, unfortunately, no means of learning how long before the date of this letter More had begun to depend upon Colet's friendship.

In the absence of other evidence, therefore, a document providing clear proof of a bond between More and Colet almost two years before the letter of October 23, 1504, may have some interest for students of the period. Among the muniments of Westminster Abbey⁶ is a statement, duly notarized, of the resignation of John Colet from his prebend of Goodeaster in the church of St. Martin le Grand, London, on January 26, 1502 [old style] / 1503 [new style].⁷ The ceremony of resignation was performed at Colet's parish church of All Saints, Stepney, "presentibus adtunc ibidem discretis viris Thoma more de london generoso⁸ et Edmundo paynter literatis."

Of the literate Edmund Paynter I know nothing. But Thomas More, also literate and gentleman of London, must surely be the future knight, chancellor, martyr, and saint. In January, 1503, therefore, he was close enough to Colet to act as his witness in a document of considerable importance. Furthermore, the fact that More was present in Stepney when the act of resignation was performed, coupled with so intimate a reference to that parish as occurs in his letter to Colet of 1504: "Come then, my dear friend, for Stepney's sake which mourns your long absence as deeply as a child his mother's, . . ."⁹ suggests that during this period More may have been a resident of the suburb. The conjecture is given weight by More's dislike of city life which is made evident in this letter to Colet, a dislike which later resulted in his famous Chelsea domicile. The primary value of the discovery of the document, however, lies in its definition of January, 1503, as the date before which More must certainly have begun his friendship with John Colet.

New York City

⁶ Stapleton, translated by Hallett, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁶ Muniment No. 13199. A photograph of this document is in my possession.

⁷ The date of Colet's resignation is given by J. H. Lupton (*A Life of John Colet, D.D.* [London, 1887], p. 119) as January 26, 1503/4 on the authority of Kennett's MSS. However, the accuracy of the 1502/3 date given in the text of the Westminster Abbey muniment cannot be questioned since it is carefully specified in a document bearing every evidence of meticulous preparation.

⁸ The term "generosus" apparently means "gentleman." To this epithet More was entitled even before his knighthood, since according to the Journal of the Court of Common Council of London "Thomas More, gent." was elected under-sheriff on September 3, 1510 (*Harpfield's Life of More*, Early English Text Society, Or. Ser. 186 [1932], p. 312).

⁹ Stapleton, translated by Hallett, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

RALEGH'S *CYNTHIA*—FACTS OR LEGEND

By ALEXANDER M. BUCHAN

Assigning a precise date to the Hatfield *Cynthia* does far more than satisfy the curiosity of scholars as to whether or not this was the "lamentable lay" read by Raleigh to Spenser in the year 1589. If, as Hannah, Stebbing and Miss Latham have argued, and as most students of Raleigh's life and letters have agreed, the Hatfield fragment is not the poem of 1589 but a "continuation" of it, speculation is left open for the existence of an earlier poem, different from this one, and, as is generally assumed, better than it. If Gosse's supposition that this "21:st¹ and last Booke of the Ocean to Scinthia" is part of the "lamentable lay" happens to be correct, the rest of the poem, if it existed, must be judged by this fragment, and the merits of Raleigh as a poet must be decided, in part at least, by the fact that this fragment is the most considerable evidence of his poetic skill that remains. On top of the few slight contemporary tributes to Raleigh's poetic ability a sizable legend has arisen, within fairly recent years; and the truth or falsehood of that legend seems to depend on whether the Hatfield fragment is the poem of 1589, or a later, inferior poem that managed to survive while the greater poem perished.

How far speculation has gone can be indicated by a brief summary of the outstanding instances. Edmund Gosse, in his *Athenaeum* articles,² was the first to imagine greatly, although his belief that the surviving *Cynthia* fragment was part of the original poem might have checked the tendency. On the basis of the 526 lines of the Hatfield poem, he conjured up "a stately and voluminous poem of not fewer than 15,000 lines, written in the uniform four-line stanza . . ." This estimate he reduced, two years later, in his life of Raleigh,³ to 10,000 lines, adding, however, a few critical remarks hardly warranted by the evidence:

. . . the canto . . . contains 130 stanzas, or 526 lines. Supposing the average length of the twenty preceding books to have been the same, *The Ocean's Love to Cynthia* must have contained at least ten thousand lines. Spenser, therefore, was not exaggerating . . . when he spoke of *Cynthia* as a poem of great importance.

¹ It is generally agreed that Gosse, reading the Hatfield MSS from a transcript, misread this numeral, and the other reading of 11:th is accepted in this paper.

² *Athenaeum*, Jan. 2nd and 9th, 1886.

³ *Raleigh* (English Worthies), (1888), pp. 45-47.

On a similar level of praise was his remark with reference to Spenser's passages in *Colin Clouts*:

This is most valuable evidence of the existence in 1589 of a poem or series of poems by Sir Walter Raleigh, set by Spenser on a level with the best work of the age in verse.

Yet it is to be noticed that Spenser did not speak of *Cynthia* as a "poem of great importance," nor did he set it "on a level with the best work of the age in verse." The lines in *Colin Clouts* are these:

Yet, aemuling my pipe, he tooke in hond
My pipe, before that aemuled of many,
And plaid thereon; (for well that skill he cond;)
Himselfe as skilfull in that art as any.⁴

Spenser is paying tribute, that is to say, not to the poem Raleigh read, but to his poetic ability. This tribute he already gave in the sonnet prefixed to the *Faerie Queen*:

Thou onely fit this Argument to write,
In whose high thoughts Pleasure hath built her bowre,
And dainty love learnd sweetly to endite.
My rimes I know unsavory and sowre,
To taste the streames that, like a golden showre,
Flow from thy fruitfull head, of thy love's praise;
Fitter, perhaps, to thonder Martiall stowre,
When so thee list thy lofty Muse to raise . . .⁵

A commendation so flattering might be taken seriously, if it were not that, in the same series of sonnets, Spenser makes the same disclaimer in Lord Buckhurst's favor:

Whose learned Muse hath writ her owne record
in golden verse, worthy immortal fame:
Thou much more fit (were leasure to the same)
Thy gracious Soverains praises to compile,
And her imperiall Majestie to frame
In loftie numbers and heroicke stile.⁶

The phrase, "the summer's Nightingale," in the Raleigh sonnet, sounds just as much a poet's hyperbole as the adulation given Buckhurst for his "learned Muse" and "golden verse."

Apparently, therefore, the gist of Spenser's praise was far more that Raleigh knew as much about poetry and could write poetry as well as another than that he had written or was writing a poem

⁴ Globe Edition, p. 550.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

"on a level etc." The first is fairly conventional praise, and was offered Raleigh by Puttenham and Gabriel Harvey as one of the "crew of Courtly makers": the other is the specific and quite different praise that Meres gave Shakespeare's plays, Puttenham gave the author of the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and Harvey gave *Cynthia* only on the level of Dyer's *Amaryllis*, as a "fine and sweet invention."⁷

With the appearance of Stebbing's biography of Raleigh⁸ there entered on the discussion of *Cynthia* a more reserved analysis. To the moderate statement, "... a poem . . . estimated to have contained as many as 15,000 lines," Stebbing added the qualification, "when completed, if ever." He was careful, in his examination of Gosse's theory, to modify its exuberant calculations:

He (Gosse) assumes that the poem was a finished composition when Raleigh read from it to Spenser. It is not likely that it ever was finished. Spenser's allusions to it points to a conception fully formed, rather than to a work ready for publication. In the latter case it is improbable, to the verge of impossibility, that Raleigh should not have communicated it to his circle.

Later in his discussion he again suggests that the poem may never have been completed:

So *Cynthia*, as far as it was ever composed, may be considered one poem, to which the extant twenty-first book essentially belongs. There is not, therefore, necessarily any hope or fear, that the whole exists, or ever existed, in perfect shape.

It so happened, however, that this admirable reserve of Stebbing's was linked with his effort to support Hannah's idea that the Hatfield *Cynthia* refers to the events of 1592 rather than to any that might have occurred before 1589. The tone of despair in the existing fragment, and the apparent ease with which it can be applied to the events following Raleigh's affair with Elizabeth Throckmorton, dated the poem, for him, between 1592 and 1595; and, compelled by the fact of Spenser's earlier reference, he offered this contrast between the "finished conception" and the "work ready for publication." Apart altogether from the theoretical question as to whether there can ever be a "finished conception" of a poem without the poem actually being written, the words in *Colin Clouts*, behind their pastoral imagery, can hardly be interpreted other than that Raleigh was reading a poem:

⁷ The more important of the contemporary references are given in *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, ed. Agnes M. C. Latham. It is interesting to notice that *The Arte of Englishe Poesie* quotes from Raleigh three times for his skilful use of prosodic devices of repetition rather than for anything more remarkable, such as the writing of a poem of "great importance."

⁸ William Stebbing, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (1899), pp. 72-77.

. . . he tooke in hond
 My pipe . . .
 And plaid thereon . . .
 He pip'd, I sung; and, when he sung, I piped.⁹

Stripped of the imagery, the lines state that Raleigh and Spenser read poems to one another; and there was a poem, not a conception only, in 1589.

Since Stebbing's biography appeared, his arguments for a date of 1592 or later have been generally accepted, although his doubts about the completion of *Cynthia* have been swamped in a repetition of Gosse's optimism. And the later date, as has been indicated, readily encourages a belief in a far, far better poem than the one that survives. In her edition of the Poems,¹⁰ Miss Latham, with most of the facts before her and shrewd textual judgment guiding her, does not descant on the merits of *Cynthia*, but it is obvious from her Introduction that she believes that much valuable poetry has been lost:

. . . it is strange that the work of a poet who ranked so highly among his contemporaries, and whose name acquired a romantic fascination for posterity, could have been lost almost completely.

Later, she mentions the *Cynthia* of the Hatfield MSS:

To come to *Cynthia* desiring logic, form and coherence, is to be disappointed . . . It is a fragment, a continuation of ten earlier books, which are lost.

Other critics, however, have been less cautious. Miss Bradbrook, for instance, in *The School of Night*,¹¹ is quite positive about the date of the production of *Cynthia*:

. . . till 1592, when Raleigh was recalled from an expedition and after a few weeks clapped into the Tower . . . In the Tower he remained from July to September . . . During this imprisonment he wrote the eleventh *Book of the Ocean's Love to Cynthia*, the only one to survive.

Edward Thompson,¹² evading the issue of the dating of the poem, makes this statement:

The poem that showed fair Cynthia's praises, which was to have been his masterpiece, was never finished . . .

⁹ Globe Edition, p. 550.

¹⁰ *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, ed. Agnes M. C. Latham (Boston, 1929). Introduction

¹¹ M. C. Bradbrook, *The School of Night* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 5.

¹² Edward Thompson, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (New Haven, 1936), p. 72.

In point of fact and evidence, there appears to be as little reason for supposing that *Cynthia* was to be Raleigh's "masterpiece" as for assigning a definite date to it, especially the one of 1592. The extent to which speculation has gone is best seen in E. K. Chambers' essay, *The Disenchantment of the Elizabethans*.¹³

Raleigh wrote a long poem to Elizabeth, as from the Shepherd of the Ocean to Cynthia. He read it to Spenser in Ireland during 1589. Other writers refer to it as 'a fine and sweet invention' and in a 'vein most lofty, insolent,¹⁴ and passionate.' It was never printed and was already lost by the middle of the seventeenth century. But you can guess at its theme . . .

The passage that follows is a beautifully-written fantasy on the theme, which has apparently been approved, since, quite recently,¹⁵ C. F. Tucker Brooke quoted from it, and added this significant remark about the Hatfield poem:

It is not likely that this fragment, composed in profound despair, represents favorably the merits of the earlier work.

It appears, therefore, that so long as a date of 1592 can be indicated for the Hatfield poem, so long, too, will investigators be free to expatiate on the non-existent poem at the expense of the extant fragment. Because of the lengths to which this latter tendency has gone, it may be advisable to examine the arguments for a 1592 date. They are of two kinds: the one having to do with the "mood of the deepest dejection," as Chambers puts it, which suffuses the Hatfield poem; the other being a list of apparent references in that poem to events in Raleigh's career.

Since Miss Latham provides, in her textual notes,¹⁶ a useful summary of the seemingly topical allusions, it may be well to handle them in her order:

1. On line 124 occurs the remark:

So wrate I once, and my mishapp fortolde . . .¹⁷

Miss Latham comments:

This seems to be a reference to an earlier poem, possibly the *Cynthia* Spenser knew, as distinct from the *Cynthia* that has survived.

¹³ E. K. Chambers, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and some collected studies*. London, 1933.

¹⁴ This ascription of Puttenham's phrase to the *Cynthia* was also made by Laughton and Lee in the *D. N. B.* art. "Raleigh." There is no good reason for it except our ignorance of the "lost poem."

¹⁵ "Sir Walter Raleigh as Poet and Philosopher." *E. L. H.* (June, 1938), p. 93.

¹⁶ Latham, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-8.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

But why speculate, as she and Gosse both do, on a possible poem, with the actual "Like Truthles dreams" as a definite object of reference for this line? As this short poem was published, in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593) and in *Le Prince d'Amour* (1660), it is quite complete in itself, and contains as its refrain the very line to which Raleigh makes his reference. In meaning, too, it bears out the backward glance that Raleigh makes: since it expresses his fears, while he is yet at Court, that he will have to bid farewell soon. In the *Cynthia* he is bidding farewell, and the "mishap" seems to have arrived. Any further speculation on what Raleigh "once wrote" is unnecessary.

2. Lines 120-121 read:

Twelve years intire I wasted in this warr
twelve years of my most happy younger days.

"The reference here," writes Miss Latham, "is to Raleigh's struggle for the Queen's favour." She is following Stebbing, who wrote that the "war" was Raleigh's "struggle for the affection of Elizabeth" and that Raleigh was "laying siege to Elizabeth's heart."¹⁸ But placing such an intimate interpretation on the word "war" appears necessary only to support a chronological theory. Gosse, adding twelve to 1577, the date on which "Walter Rawley esq. of the Court" appeared before a Justice of the Peace in Middlesex,¹⁹ arrived at a date of 1589 for these lines in *Cynthia*; Stebbing, anxious to establish his date of 1592 or later, implied that Raleigh, in 1577, while he was "ex Curia," was not yet intimate with Elizabeth. If Stebbing was justified of his hypothesis, the years from 1580 to 1592 would mark an unbroken personal intimacy between Raleigh and his mistress, whereas he was still only "our servant Walter Rawley"²⁰ in 1582, and was not until 1587, by his appointment as Captain of the Guard, kept near the Queen. A much simpler explanation of the term "war" is that of the struggle of the courtier for the Queen's favor, even long before it was granted in an intimate sense; and in this war Raleigh was taking part by 1577. It was part of the same courtly fiction that added the word "entire," in spite of Raleigh's well-known activities outside London and away from the Court.

¹⁸ William Stebbing, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (Oxford, 1899), p. 74.

¹⁹ *Middlesex County Records*: ed. John C. Jeaffreson, I (1886), pp. 110-111.

²⁰ Letter to Lord Grey, containing Raleigh's warrant as Captain in Ireland: quoted Edwards, *Life of Sir W. Raleigh*, I (1868), p. 46.

3. From lines 87-88:

my hopes clean out of sight with forced wind
to kyngdomes strange, to lands farr of adrest . . .

is taken a reference to an "impending voyage"—the voyage to Guiana of 1594. But why? In "Like truthles dreames," exactly the same image, in almost the same words, is used:

(my lost delights, now cleane from sight of land . . .
As in a country strange without companion . . .)²¹

and obviously with metaphorical meaning only. Is it necessary to find a topical allusion always in a poet's figures, especially the sea-figures of a seafarer?

4. Much is made by Hannah, Gosse, and Stebbing of Raleigh's remark about his seeking "new worlds, for golde, for prayse, for glory," and about the Queen's calling him back "to leue great honors thought." Gosse alludes to Raleigh's Virginian enterprises that Elizabeth forbade him to join, Stebbing to the voyage from which Raleigh was recalled in 1592. It might be plausibly contended, in face of either hypothesis, that the lines in *Cynthia* refer to no specific voyage, but have the general meaning, "Whenever an enterprise took me from her presence, the thought of her called me back to Court." Definite or not, however, as the allusion is, there is no doubt about the parallel that can be drawn between Raleigh's words and the similar, if doggerel, words of Thomas Churchyard written some few years earlier. To his *Discourse* of the Queenes Majestie's Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk,²² Churchyard appended a "Commendation of Sir Humfrey Gilbert's Ventrours Journey," and it is hard to imagine, reading Raleigh's lines

("To seeke new worlds . . .,
. . . in contempt")

that he was not being consciously reminiscent of Churchyard. Just as significant, too, is the line, in Churchyard's list of Gilbert's "troupe," about "Rawley, ripe of sprite, and rare right many ways." Churchyard's *Discourse* appeared in 1579; Sir Humphrey Gilbert's commission was granted the year before; and what more likely than that the Raleigh of 1589, busy writing *Cynthia* and thinking back "twelve years," recalled the planning of these expeditions in 1576 and 1577, when George Gascoigne made Gilbert's plans known to

²¹ Latham, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

²² Reprinted in John Nichols, *The Progresses etc.* Vol. 2 (1823), pp. 179 ff.

the public?²³ Then, for the first time on record, Raleigh was making friends in London, and planning with them the voyages that afterwards became his obsession. Then, too, as the Middlesex record shows, he was "of the Court"; and the divided loyalty, of which he writes in this passage of *Cynthia*, began to be a reality.

5. In this same idea of loyalty lies the understanding of the two phrases, "my Error" and "my fancy erred,"²⁴ that have been referred to as indicating another affair of Raleigh's, possibly the one with Elizabeth Throckmorton. Enough is known of the Queen's demands on the attention of her favorites, Leicester, Raleigh and Essex, to make it obvious that any project whatsoever which removed them from her presence, or provided an interest other than that of courtly dalliance, was an "error" and a wandering of fancy. A love-affair was something far more heinous, and Raleigh, anxious as he might be to palliate his behavior with Elizabeth Throckmorton, would know enough about the Queen not to minimize the fact itself. The reason for his retirement to Ireland in 1589, of too slight importance to be recalled except as part of his wrangle with Essex, is a more probable source of the phrases about fancy and its error.

6. In addition to these topical allusions, the name "Belphebe," which occurs on line 327, has been used by Stebbing and Miss Latham as proof that *Cynthia* was written later than 1590. "To the poem of *Cynthia*," Stebbing wrote, "Spenser had said he owed the idea of the name."²⁵ Yet, as Stebbing's quotation immediately indicates, Spenser did not say it was the poem of *Cynthia* to which he owed the name, but to Raleigh's "excellent conceit of Cynthia." And there is no reason to suppose that this conception, even if the poem itself were not written, was not talked over between the friends during the year 1589 or earlier.²⁶ Neither did Raleigh have to wait, as Miss Latham argues, till the publication of *The Faerie Queene* so as to meet the name as Spenser altered it, for in the letter to Raleigh of Jan. 23rd, 1589 the name is discussed; and it would be incredible that this letter, even if it were not sent to Raleigh immediately, would not be seen by him during the months of this year of 1589 when they were together in Ireland. In fact,

²³ For Gascoigne's Prefatory Epistle to Gilbert's *A Discourse v. The Glasse of Government* by George Gascoigne, ed. John W. Cunliffe (Camb. 1910), p. 562.

²⁴ Latham, *op. cit.*, p. 77 and p. 88.

²⁵ Stebbing, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

²⁶ It appears as if Spenser, conceding this debt to Raleigh, was either offering judicious flattery, or was far more out of touch with affairs in England than his poems indicate. Even a casual glance through *Nichol's Progresses* shows how inevitably the Cynthia-Diana-Phoebe comparison was offered Elizabeth. For instance, in 1578, at Norwich, she received the homage of a poem with the refrain, "Splendide Phoebe, redi . . ."

the occurrence of the name "Belphebe" in Raleigh's poem suggests only that Raleigh may have borrowed the form from Spenser, presumably just as easily in 1589 as at a later date.

From a consideration of the topical allusions within the poem, therefore, it appears to be at least as easy to assign the composition to 1589 as to 1592. The question of the despondent mood of *Cynthia* is far more difficult to settle. The tendency has been to be quite dogmatic in the selection of the incidents of 1592 as determining this mood. Stebbing wrote:

Viewed as written . . . in 1589 . . . much of the twenty-first book is without meaning. Its tone is plain and significant for the years 1592 to 1595.²⁷

The statement of E. K. Chambers is just as positive:

This is . . . quite clearly no part of the original poem, but an after-piece of different inspiration . . . The date must be that of Raleigh's first imprisonment in the Tower, after his marriage with Elizabeth Throckmorton in 1592, and the tone is in keeping with his singular letters and behaviour of that time.²⁸

Yet a few lines later, Chambers proceeds to minimize this very tone:

. . . it is largely a pose. Raleigh was not really in love with Elizabeth; that was only the usual and rather wearisome convention.

As has been suggested before, a good part of this argument about tone and mood arises from the relative completeness of our knowledge of the events of 1592. About the circumstances of 1589 comparatively little is recorded and that quite indefinite. Francis Allen, in a letter of Aug. 17th, 1589, to Anthony Bacon, made the gossip remark:

My Lord of Essex hath chased Mr. Raleigh from the Court, and hath confined him into Ireland.²⁹

Yet, by December, Raleigh was writing George Carew:

For my retreat from Court, it was upon good cause to take order for my prize.

and boasted that his influence with the Queen was³⁰ greater than that of Sir William Fitzwilliams, the Deputy in Ireland. Apparently, too, as has been argued, Raleigh's influence at Court, if not

²⁷ Stebbing, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

²⁸ Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

²⁹ Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, 1, 56.

³⁰ Ed. Edwards, *Life of Sir W. Raleigh*, 2 (1868), p. 51.

directly with the Queen, was great enough by the year's end to enable him to procure a pension for Spenser.

There are three facts about these circumstances that are worth emphasizing: one, that then, for the first time in Raleigh's friendship with the Queen, a serious breach had occurred; two, that this break was important enough and sufficiently well-known to put Raleigh to the trouble of explaining it to his half-brother; and three, that if, as Allen says, it was due to the rivalry between Raleigh and Essex, it might very readily, though interfering with intimacy with the Queen, have the opposite effect on Lord Burghley, the approver of pensions, who had no reason to like Essex.⁸¹ The essential point, however, is not the seriousness or permanence of the withdrawal from Court as the fact that a withdrawal had occurred. From a first break, however short or slight, comes a greater despondency than from all of the others; so that, even if Raleigh was not actually in love with Elizabeth, as Chambers suggests he was not, at least his hopes of Court preferment were lessened. No more than this can be said for the incident of 1592, either. The Throckmorton affair, violent as its first repercussions were, did not permanently separate Raleigh and Elizabeth. From that time, if only in virtue of his marriage, he was no longer the intimate "Water," but he was still a respected councillor, active in Court reconciliations as well as in adventure. Playmate of the Queen he could not be, and apparently had ceased being shortly after the advent of Essex before 1588: but he needed Court sanction and help in order to satisfy other loyalties than that to the Queen's person. In him, more than in Leicester, Hatton, or Essex, the love of exploit and exploration was strong, both by temperament and training. Already by 1577, his association with Humphrey Gilbert had made "great honour's thought" very real to him; and his personal friendship with the Queen, which may have seemed an easy path to honorable adventure, came to stand in his way. It was prudent, as well as a conventional courtesy, to exalt this friendship, as he does in *Cynthia*, so long as it was a tie equally binding with the other. In 1589 these were the circumstances, precisely. By 1592, of his own will, he left the Court for Panama, and another Elizabeth was too obviously the object of his affection for the old convention to be kept alive.

To argue to a conclusion, then, about the "tone" of *Cynthia* goes contrary to everything known about poetry of the sort. It is not convicting Raleigh of "insincerity" to state that he did not mean,

⁸¹ Raleigh's relationships with Burghley are helpfully summarized in Martin Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley* (1906). In 1589, the question of a successor to Walsingham, who was ill, may easily have added to the irritation between Essex and Raleigh.

in actual affairs, what he wrote so dolefully in *Cynthia* and so ecstatically in the familiar letter to Cecil from the Tower.⁸² His gloom and ecstasy were as real as the hyperbole of any poet, though possibly, in his case, a little more touched with prudence and a fictional adulation than in many another. The tone of 'farewell to the lover' might be taken literally if Elizabeth had been younger, and if Raleigh himself had been less ambitious and imaginative; but a historical understanding of their friendship forbids. So that this mood, whether for love real and for the first time broken, or for love conventional and poetical, is slightly more probable in 1589 than at any later date.

If it can be established, therefore, as seems possible, that the Hatfield fragment, both in its mood and its references, can be dated from 1589 as readily as from 1592 or later, some other parts of the puzzle of its meaning and its very existence fit into place. There is no indication, in any contemporary remark made about the *Book of the Ocean to Cynthia* that any part of the poem was other than melancholy. For Spenser it was a "lamentable lay," both in *Colin Clouts* and in the other probable allusion in Book IV of the *Faerie Queene*. Within the fragment, as we have it, this topic of sad separation from the loved one is handled fully. If earlier books of the *Ocean's Love* had been written, it may be presumed that they would have dealt with the earlier, happier episodes of Raleigh's connection with the Queen; and yet these happier times, the events of his "early happy youth" are what he definitely tells us, in the Hatfield poem, he cannot write. For he begins with an apology:

Sufficeth it to yow my ioyes interred.
in sinpell wordes that I my woes cumplayne . . .⁸³

It is enough for her, he says, that his joy is over; and he blames his sorrow on Cynthia, who has caused it. It is her fault, the death of the person she used to be, that makes him lament his woes, so that what he writes is like a song of the dead to the dead, instead of the "sweeter words," the "more becuming vers" he might have written. Everything that has happened in the past must be expressed in "this one last sigh," as if, by the last flicker of sunlight, he were beginning to write "the story of all ages past." (ll. 90-103.) Of that past only sorrow remains (l. 123), and his own "mourning thoughts" can in themselves, better than writing or speech, express his sadness (ll. 148-152). To tell about the past would be only "to dy in writinge" (l. 170). He can no longer be happy praising Cynthia: he can

⁸² Edwards, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 51.

⁸³ Latham, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

only tell the tale of his sorrow (ll. 213-214). Now he must describe her as the unrelenting Queen, not as she used to be, the friendly comrade (ll. 217-218). Neither "frute nor forme of floure" remains as a witness of their past affection (l. 245). Even when he praises her, calling her "natures wonder, Vertues choice . . ." (ll. 344-350) she is not interested in his praise. And the "pipe, which loves own hand gave" him to "singe her prayeses," can be thrown away, now that the love has gone.

If ever a poet said, over and over again, that this poem is the only one he intends to write about his love, Raleigh is saying it here. In fact, it may easily be contended that the prevailing idea of *Cynthia*, with all of its curious involution of figure and sentiment, is nothing else but this.

A similar meaning, too, can be taken from a short poem attached to the *Cynthia* fragment among the Hatfield papers. This poem, "If Synthia be a Queene . . .," may have had less attention paid to it than need be on account of the rather curt remark that Gosse made in 1886. Discussing the various Hatfield relics, he wrote:

The first, beginning "If Cynthia be a queen, a princess and supreme," is primitive in style, and belongs to the effete school of Googe and Turberville; it can scarcely have been written later than 1585 . . .⁸⁴

However, Gosse's date is just as much a guess as his supposition that the "school" of Googe and Turberville had an influence on Raleigh. If Gascoigne had been mentioned, there might be some reason for agreement, since Raleigh's poem in commendation of the "Steel Glass" makes it seem likely that Raleigh read Gascoigne, and there are signs elsewhere in Raleigh's verse that he was familiar with Gascoigne's peculiar tricks of style. But it seems superfine aestheticism both to pretend to recognize the marks of a "school" on a piece of eight lines, and to assign a date on the basis of such a recognition. Other evidence is needed, besides that of poetic style, and appears to be available in the meaning of the poem itself.

The lines are certainly puzzling. Miss Latham has confessed they baffle her completely. Miss Bradbrook's attempt, in *The School of Night*, to link them with an incident of the quarrel between Raleigh and Essex, is even less successful, since she must wrest the syntax in order to get the application she wants. A meaning, however, there does appear to be in the poem; and, if the date is set after the writing of *Cynthia*, notwithstanding Gosse's insubstantial

⁸⁴ *Athenaeum*, Jan. 2nd.

theory, the eight lines serve as a valuable commentary on the longer poem. Raleigh is saying that, since Elizabeth is a "Queen, a princess and supreme," he must remember these facts among the others he knows, presumably that she is also a woman, friendly and companionable. If she insists on being the Queen, he must recall their friendship as a dream only. Therefore he is going to tell about this friendship only what people expect to hear. If he writes honestly about what has happened, or about his present feelings, he is simply going to increase his scorn for himself and his despair. In short, Raleigh is stating his intention of not writing about his friendship with Cynthia, unless she remains friendly.

The identical contrast between Cynthia as a Queen and as Belphebe, the friendly companion, is found in *Cynthia*; and the poet there regrets that, with the disappearance of the Queen's love has gone her eagerness to overlook "trespase and mischance." If she stands on her dignity as a Queen, their old friendly relationship is impossible, and for him to write about it is impossible, too.

Without evidence, of course, about the precise date of any one of the Hatfield poems, it is impossible to claim the eight lines as a necessary comment on *Cynthia*; but their clear denial of Raleigh's intention to write about the Queen is certainly noticeable in the light of the fragmentary nature of the other poem.

How, therefore, has the legend of a long, pretentious poem become the fashion of scholarly opinion? From the simple fact, it would seem, that the Hatfield fragment is headed "The 11:th and last booke of the Ocean to Scinthia." On the basis of the "11:th," which he misread as 21:st, Gosse imagined his poem of ten to fifteen thousand lines, an "epic" as he termed it, "a poem of great importance." On the same basis, the other critics, with more or less abandon, have constructed the idea of a "lost poem" of considerable length and poetic value.

Yet it is far simpler—though perhaps less satisfying to the normal interest in a mysterious "lost poem"—to explain the "11:th" and "the beginninge of the 12:th booke, entreatinge of Sorrow" than to prove the existence of any previous ten books. For, while Raleigh and Spenser were together, some time in 1589, undoubtedly both the plan of *The Faerie Queene*, as sketched in Spenser's letter, and the first three cantos, were on hand for discussion. And, whether out of liking for "classical precedent," as Miss Latham suggests, or out of familiarity with Spenser's plan, Raleigh conceived an idea for a poem of his own in honor of Cynthia: a poem, to consist of twelve books, but, as Stebbing is inclined to suppose, far more of a con-

ception than a reality. In the letter of Jan. 23rd, he had a piece of shrewd counsel:

For the methode of a Poet historical is not such, as of an Historiographer. For an Historiographer discourseth of affayres orderly as they were done, accounting as well the times as the actions; but a Poet thrusteth into the middest, event where it most concerneth him⁸⁸

What concerned Raleigh was the mood of dejection over this first indication that his position in Elizabeth's favor was threatened; and, under the stimulation of Spenser's presence and example, he started with the 11:th booke, near the end, as he imagined, of his love to Cynthia. And this book, with the other fragment of the 12:th, was what he read to Spenser, the "lamentable lay." Sometime afterwards, as Miss Latham conjectures from the appearance of the MS, he turned again to the unfinished poem; but, as he realized then, it was too late to go back and retrace the course of the old friendship. For now Cynthia was no longer Belphebe, but a Queen; and it was useless, possibly imprudent, to open up the old sore of his love.

If this interpretation is justified, what he tells us, in *Cynthia*, has a wider application than to his own case. For it helps to throw light on that strangest of all relationships that Elizabeth maintained with one favorite after another. As much conventional love-making as they could provide, as much of gallantry and card-playing and jesting as they cared to submit to, she was willing to accept; but not one of them was allowed to forget that she was still Queen, with the power of queenly displeasure and of death over them. Raleigh, with a variety of loyalties, succeeded in forsaking Court and Queen with no more than a fragment of a poet's regret: Essex was less fortunate, and paid a high price for forgetting.

Washington University,
St. Louis, Missouri

⁸⁸ Globe Edition, p. 4.

A NOTE ON *OTHELLO*, II, i, 110-113

By HELEN ANDREWS KAHIN

Steevens,¹ long ago, called attention to the similarity between Iago's speech:

Come on, come on; you are pictures out of doors,
Bells in your parlours, wild-cats in your kitchens,
Saints in your injuries, devils being offended,
Players in your housewifery, and housewives in your beds.²

and the following quotation from *The Arte of English Poesie*:³

And touching the person, we say it is comely for a man to be a lambe in the house, and a Lyon in the field, appointing the decencie of his qualitie by the place, by which reason also we limit the comely parts of a woman to consist in foure points, that is to be a shrew in the kitchin, a saint in the Church, an Angell at the bourd, and an Ape in the bed. . . .

But while there is an undoubted resemblance in phraseology between the two passages there is also a significant difference in spirit. Every one of the seven epithets which Iago utters is slanderous, while each of the four parts which the author of *The Arte of English Poesie* describes, is, according to his own words, comely and fitting.⁴

This marked difference in treatment suggests that Shakespeare and Puttenham [?] were using and interpreting independently an earlier source, one perhaps familiar to many of their contemporaries. Middleton, in 1602, in *Blurt, Master-Constable*,⁵ makes a statement similar to that found in *The Arte of English Poesie* and refers to it as a familiar adage, saying:

¹ 1773 edition of Shakespeare by George Steevens and Samuel Johnson.

² Arden ed., *Othello*, II, i, 110-3.

³ *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, attributed to George Puttenham, ed. 1936, Gladys Willcock and Alice Walker, p. 293.

⁴ Since Puttenham ends the above quotation with these words: "... as the Chronicle reportes by Mistress Shore paramour to King Edward the fourth," and since elsewhere (p. 292) he says, "it is decent to be . . . in household expence pinching and sparing . . .," it is possible to conclude that even as a shrew would be a necessary and hence comely person in the kitchen, so would an ape be in bed, especially if there is a reference to Jane Shore whom both Hall and Holinshed depict sympathetically. Cf. also Harrington's complimentary epigram to his wife below.

⁵ *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, ed. A. H. Bullen, I; *Blurt, Master-Constable*, III, iii, 153-7. Lazarillo, who speaks the lines, is intent on teaching the ladies how to manage their men and suggests that they follow the precepts of this "wise saying" in order to cover up their real characters.

... according to that wise saying of you, you be saints in the church, angels in the street, devils in the kitchen, and apes in your beds.

while, in 1618, Sir John Harington, in a complimentary epigram addressed to his wife, repeats in different language several of the same thoughts:

As you for Church, house, bed, obserue this lesson,
Sit in the church as solemn as a Saint, . . .

Be in my house as busie as a Bee,
Hauing a sting for euery one but mee, . . .

And when thou seeth my heart to mirth incline,
The tongue, wit, bloud warme with good cheere and wine,
Then of sweet sport let no occasion scape
But be as wanton, toying as an Ape.⁶

In 1562, John Heywood, in his *Proverbs and Epigrams*,⁷ expresses ideas similar to some of those found in Iago's speech. In his uncomplimentary account of women he says:

To tell tales out of schoole, that is her great lust.
Looke what she knowth, blab it wist, and out it must. . . .

A clean fingred huswfy, and an ydell, folk saie. . . .

She maie not beare a fether, but she must breath,
She maketh so much of her peynted sheath. . . .

But soone rype soone rotten, yong seynt olde deuill. . . .

Ye praise the wyne, before ye tast of the grape.
But she can no more harme than can a shee ape.

*The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*⁸ likewise gives an unfavorable interpretation of the "wise saying" for Sir Francis Ilford, while he repeats almost verbatim three of the terms used by Puttenham [?], imbues them with a hostile sentiment, saying:

... women are the purgatory of men's purses, the paradise of their bodies, and the hell of their minds; marry none of them. Women are in the churches saints, abroad angels, at home devils.

⁶ *The Most Elegant and Wittie Epigrams of Sir John Harington*, 1633, Bk. IV, no. 45, "The Author to his Wife."

⁷ *The Proverbs and Epigrams of John Heywood*, 1562. Printed for Spenser Society, 1867, I, 19-23.

⁸ *The Miseries of Inforst Mariage*, by George Wilkins, London, 1607. Included in *Dodsley's Old English Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, 1874, IX, 475.

In its essentials the saying is probably very old. The earliest version I have found is in *Sylva nuptialis*,⁹ written by Giovanni Nevizzano d'Asti and first published in 1516. In his chapter on matrimony, Nevizzano calls women: *sancte in ecclesia, angelos in accessu, demones in domo, bubones in fenestra, picas in porta, capre in ortis* and *fetos in lecto*. Apparently *Sylva nuptialis* was a popular book, for there were at least seven editions before 1574,¹⁰ while in 1555 Francois de Billon¹¹ refers to its author as the most dangerous of the adversaries of women and in 1552 Bruni da Pistoia,¹² in *Difese Delle Donne*, says:

... secondo l'oppinone di Gioouanni Astense nel suo libro intitolato selua Nuttialo, attribuiscono al sesso femminile le infrascritte sette proprieta cio e, che sieno Gracchi in su la porta, Diauoli in casa, Capre nell'horto, Sante in chiesa, Puttane nel letto, Angeli nello andare, & ciuette in su le Finestre.

It seems probable that both the author of *The Arte of English Poesie* and Shakespeare were familiar with the passage from Nevizzano or with some later redaction of it. But if Puttenham [?] used it, he radically changed the spirit of the lines, converting the bitter abuse of *Sylva nuptialis* into a complimentary analysis of woman's actions, while Shakespeare not only paralleled all seven of the points given by Nevizzano and Bruni but voiced the same slanderous sentiment against women.

The following table may help to clarify some of the similarities and differences among the four authors.

⁹ *Sylva nuptialis*, impressa Lugduni per Joannem moylin alias de Cambray, 1524, Fol. cli, clii. On the title page is the following statement: Clarissimi jurisconulti d. Jo. Nevizanis civis Astensis. (Apparently the author was sometimes called Nevizzano and sometimes Astense.)

¹⁰ *The Encyclopedia Italiana* gives 1516 as the date of the first publication. An edition in Paris in 1521, four in Lyons—1524, 1545, 1556 and 1572—and two in Venice—1570 and 1573—are listed in *Watts Bibliotheca Britannica* and *Manuel Du Libraire de Livres*. In 1580 Clement Lital bequeathed a copy of the book to the town of Edinburgh and, in 1621, Burton, in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. J. Smith, 1859, Part 3, Sec. 2, Mem. 5, Sub. 3, pp. 540, 559, 591, quotes from Nevisanus a series of uncomplimentary remarks about women.

¹¹ *Le Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe feminin*, Paris, 1555, pp. 17-19.

¹² *Difese Delle Donne*, Bruni Da Pistoia, Nella quale si contengano le difese loro, dalle columnie date gli per gli Scrittori, & insieme le lodi di quelle. Nuouamente posta in luce. In Firenze, M.D.L. II, p. 8, col. b.

<i>Sylva nuptialis</i>	<i>Difese Delle Donne</i>	<i>Othello</i>	<i>The Arte of Poesie</i>
1. bubones in fenestra	ciuette in su le finestre	pictures out of doors ¹³	
2. picas in porta	gracchi in su la porta	bells in your parlours ¹⁴	
3. capre in ortis ¹⁵	capre nell' horto	wild-cats in your kitchens	
4. sancte in ecclesia	sante in chiesa	saints in your injuries ¹⁶	a saint in the church
5. demones in domo	diauoli in casa	devils being offended	a shrew in the kitchen ¹⁷
6. angelos in accessu	angeli nello andare	players in your housewifery ¹⁸	an angell at the bourd
7. fetos in lecto	puttane nel letto	housewives in your beds ¹⁹	an ape in the bed

¹³ *Othello*, Arden ed., note, II, i, 109: "Pictures refer to the painted faces of ladies of fashion attacked by the writers of the times." Thus painted women who gad about are comparable to both *bubones* (owls at the window or women of whom evil is spoken, according to Nevizzano) and *ciuette*, which, according to the Italian dictionary, means owls and coquettes. *Donna da fenestre* refers to a woman of evil life.

¹⁴ *Picas* and *gracchi* mean magpies or chatterers and, according to Nevizzano, garrulous women who speak evil—hence analogous to *bells* if that word be interpreted in accordance with note on II, 1, 110, Arden ed. which says: "Robert Tofte, in his translation of *Blazon of Jealousy*, likens a shrew's tongue to a bell . . . 'she scoldeth shrill like a bell.'"

¹⁵ Actually Nevizzano says, "Capre non sunt in ortis. Imo ortorum optime cultrices." However, his subsequent lines expose the irony of this remark and justify Bruni's rendering. *Ortis* and *horto* mean kitchen-garden, hence the possible analogy to *wild-cats in the kitchen*.

¹⁶ Arden ed. II, i, 112 gives Johnson's interpretation, ". . . you do malicious acts with an air of sanctity." This corresponds to Nevizzano's amplification of *sancte in ecclesia*.

¹⁷ This phrase from *The Arte of English Poesie* is perhaps analogous to point 3.

¹⁸ If *players in housewifery* be interpreted to mean women who have the superficial graces but not the sterling qualities of housewives, it is comparable to *angelos in accessu*, for Nevizzano stresses the vanity and frivolity of such women.

¹⁹ *Housewife* had two meanings, according to *NED*, the first corresponding to that in usage today, the second referring to a light, worthless woman, usually spelled *huswif*, now *hussy*. In this latter sense it is therefore analogous to *fetos* or breeders, which, following Nevizzano's explanation, meant those of a wanton nature. Similarly it corresponds to Bruni's *puttane* which means magpies, strumpets, prostitutes. Ape suggests frolicsomeness and possibly wantonness.

It is easy to see in the foregoing chart the close parallel between the attributes listed by Nevizzano²⁰ and Bruni and to recognize resemblances among them and those given by Shakespeare and Puttenham [?]. It must also be apparent, however, that *The Arte of English Poesie* is not so close to *Sylva nuptialis* and *Difese Delle Donne* as is *Othello*.

If, as was suggested above, the author of *The Arte of English Poesie* used either the quotation from *Sylva nuptialis* or some other version of the saying he not only followed it less exactly than Shakespeare did but, with a complete reversal of sentiment, adapted it to his own purpose, transmuting the slander of Nevizzano into a complimentary adage about women. Shakespeare, on the other hand, although allowing the exigencies of punning and contrast²¹ to affect the arrangement of his terms, named all seven of the points found in *Sylva nuptialis* and repeated and even intensified its spirit of malicious satire.

Thus from one source, probably Nevizzano, stemmed two independent schools of interpretation, one favorable and the other derogatory. Those writings which give the complimentary interpretation are: *The Arte of English Poesie*, *Blurt, Master-Constable* and Harington's epigram, *The Author to his Wife*; those which follow the unfavorable attitude of Nevizzano are: *Difese Delle Donne*, *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, *Othello* and possibly certain epigrams of Sir John Heywood.

In short, Iago's speech, although similar to the quotation from *The Arte of English Poesie*, is not dependent upon it but is probably derived from either *Sylva nuptialis* or some redaction thereof.

University of Washington

²⁰ Bruni, in *Difese Delle Donne*, merely names the seven qualities and fails to reproduce the long explanations and comments given by Nevizzano. Moreover he rearranges the order in which they were listed. There can be no doubt, however, that Bruni regards the statement as calumny.

²¹ The properties given in the last line of Iago's speech, *players in your housewifery and housewives in your beds* are probably juxtaposed for the sake of the pun on *housewifery* and *housewives* (see note 17) as well as for contrast.

THE EARLY PROGRAM OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY AND JOHN EVELYN

By MARGARET DENNY

No account of John Evelyn has been considered complete without some reference to his association with the Royal Society. His plan for a resident college for experimental philosophers (a reflection of certain preoccupations of the Oxford group), his forty-years membership in the Society during which he held the offices of councilman and secretary and regretfully refused the presidency have been facts frequently cited as indications of his genuine interest.

General judgments of the literary output of the man, however, seem to have been drawn from evidence somewhat apart from his Society connection. They have not been considered indicative of much more than the twin characteristics of industry and versatility. This latter quality has been especially stressed. As if the more Evelyn showed himself a "snapper-up of unconsidered nothings," the more typical a seventeenth-century gentleman he appeared.

Evelyn's own explanation of the genesis of the works which form a part of the subject-matter of the present study, contained in a letter to Lady Sunderland, August 4, 1690,¹ makes no reference to the Royal Society. Upon his return from the continent during the Interregnum, he said, he needed to employ his time "when weary from study" and sought

by what innocent diversion I might sometime relieve my self without complacency to recreations I took no felicity in, because they did not contribute to any improvement of the mind. This set me upon planting of trees, and brought forth my "*Sylva*" . . . I confesse I had an inclination to the employment upon a public account as well as its being suitable to my rural genius, borne as I was at Wotton, among the woods.

Next he referred to "the direful conflagration of this Citty." At that time

when taking notice of our want of bookes of architecture in the English tongue, I published those most useful directions of Ten of the best Authors on that subject, whose works were very rarely to be had, all of them written in French, Latine, or Italian, & so not intelligible to our mechanicks. . . .

¹ H. B. Wheatley, ed., *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn* (London, 1905), III, 463-465.

To these I likewise added my little History of Chalcography, a treatise of the perfection of Paynting, and of erecting Libraries, . . . Medals with some other intermesses which might divert within dores, as well as altogether without.

This letter to Lady Sunderland had opened with a reference to *Kalendarium Hortense*.

As for the "Kalendar" your Ladyship mentions . . . his Lordship will find nothing in it worth his notice but an old inclination to an innocent diversion, & the acceptance it found with my deare . . . worthy friend Mr. Cowley, upon whose reputation only it has survived seven impressions. . . .

While no desire is felt to deny Evelyn's original intent to amuse himself in collections which might be of practical benefit to his fellowman, there is nevertheless reason to believe that these trade histories had another *raison d'être* to Evelyn not mentioned in his letter to Lady Sunderland. This becomes more clear as examination is made of the early program of the Royal Society. Upon his election to membership in 1661, if not before through his friendship with Robert Boyle, he was to find that trade histories were at a veritable premium to that band of natural philosophers. He who seems to have hit upon this work for want of something better to do was to find that to the Royal Society there was indeed no better work than history-making. It is quite possible that one reason for Evelyn's election to membership was because he had an outline or "circle of mechanical trades," upon the collections for which he had made scarcely a beginning.

From the account of the activities of the Royal Society recorded by Thomas Birch in his *History*, arbitrary selections have been made, and what may appear the undue emphasis given them are for the purpose of making more apparent the relationship between certain Royal Society enterprises and the majority of Evelyn's writings.² There is reason to believe that Evelyn knew what function these works could perform in the program and the degree of their importance, at that time, in the Society's cooperative labour. It is even probable that Evelyn would wish the world to esteem him, not as a diarist, but as an early experimental philosopher, albeit (in his own words) "as an inferior member of the Royal Society."

² Discussion will be confined to thirteen of the fourteen works mentioned during Evelyn's lifetime in the journal-books of the Society as reproduced by Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London*, 4 vols. (London, 1756-57) or in *Philosophical Transactions*, the exception being *Publick Employment, an Active Life prefer'd to Solitude*, 1667. The excluded works include his writings before 1658 and nine subsequent works of a religious, political, personal, or ephemeral nature.

I

The Royal Society's objective as the benefactor of mankind was well publicized. It was improbable, however, that that benevolence would be immediately practised. First must be discovered "the nature of things," arrived at by the process of collection, analysis, and experiment, involving both induction and deduction. Once the primary laws governing every category of nature were understood in their operation, the benefits accruing to mankind would be legion. Nevertheless, from the latter part of 1662 to 1664 when Evelyn's *Sylva* appeared as the first authorized publication of the Royal Society, there is reason to believe that the Society was intent upon the immediate benefit of at least the English branch of mankind. Three entries from the Society's journal suggest the nature of this national project.

1. 10 Sept. '62 "A proposition was offered by Sir Robert Moray about the planting of timber in England and the preserving of what was then growing"; the following week the commissioners of His Majesty's Navy presented the Society with a set of queries.³
2. 7 Jan. '63 A letter from John Beale arrived which suggested "propagating cider-fruit all over England by the influence of the society," and from the next meeting came the suggestion "to publish some paper which might excite persons to the work."⁴
3. 18 Mar. '63 Mr. Buckland of Somerset presented "a way of preventing famine by dispersing potatoes throughout all parts of England." The Society members were to form the nucleus of a movement for the widespread culture of potatoes.⁵

At once committees for each problem were appointed, with Evelyn a member of all three of them. Papers and comments were solicited from such philosophers as had information to contribute. After the cooperative labour on the first project had gone on for some weeks, Evelyn was asked "to peruse the papers concerning the propagating of timber . . . and to add what he had of his own, digesting the sum of all into one paper,"⁶ a special committee to make an extract thereof for the naval commissioners. Hence on October 15, 1662, "Mr. Evelyn read his paper, in which he had put together the several suggestions offered by others in distinct papers . . . together with his own observations and apprehensions concerning the propagation of timber trees."⁷ Although there was much dis-

³ Birch, *op. cit.*, 10 Sept. '62, I, 110; 17 Sept. '62, I, 111.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7 Jan. '63, I, 172; 14 Jan. '63, I, 177.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 18 Mar. '63, I, 207; 25 Mar. '63, I, 213.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1 Oct. '62, I, 114.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 15 Oct. '62, I, 117.

cussion and some experiment on the proper soil and seed for potato culture, and even a resolution "that Mr. Evelyn should be desired to join this proposition by way of appendix to his discourse of timber-trees,"⁸ this project seems to have been still-born. Work on cider-making and fruit trees went on apace, however. By December, 1663, the Society had given Evelyn "leave to print the five discourses concerning cider, formerly brought and read at several meetings of the society."⁹

By order of the Society, therefore, Evelyn utilized the papers of fellow members in the production of *Sylva: or a Discourse of Forest Trees, and the Propagation of Timber*, and he acted as quasi-editor¹⁰ of a compilation entitled *Pomona . . . concerning Fruit Trees in relation to Cider, the making and severall wayes of ordering it*; in addition, Evelyn had available for the use of the Society a work entirely his own and one peculiarly useful to every owner of an English garden-plot, *Kalendarium Hortense: or the Gard'ner's Almanack, directing what he is to do monethly throughout the year, and what fruits and flowers are in prime*.¹¹ After each work had first been examined by two members of the Council for assurance "that such book contains nothing but what is suitable to the design and work of the Society,"¹² the three were published as a single volume, the first publication of the Royal Society and a splendid example of cooperative endeavor in the public's behalf by a group of natural philosophers.

There is a sequel to the work on fruit trees and cider-making which has a possible bearing on a later translation by Evelyn. During the period when contributions were being submitted almost weekly, there came a Paris letter from M. de la Quintinye with hints of his new method of melon culture and a courteous offer of his services to the Society.¹³ "The society being made acquainted also with this gentleman's extraordinary skill in cutting and the whole method of the culture of fruit trees, and with his having

⁸ Birch, *op. cit.*, 25 Mar. '63, I, 213.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 21 Dec. '63, I, 347.

¹⁰ At one point, Jan. 21, '63, Evelyn "was desired to read over and digest Mr. Beale's papers lately sent . . . in order to their being printed," *ibid.*, I, 179, obviously a task involving more than editorship; the five released papers included Beale's.

¹¹ In his letter to Lady Sunderland, 4 Aug. '90, Evelyn set approximate dates for the *Kalendarium*. "Tis now, Madame, almost forty yeares since first I writ it (i.e., 1650) . . . and neere thirty (i.e., 1660, actual date, 1664) since first 'twas publish'd." Wheatley, *op. cit.*, III, 463.

¹² Birch, *op. cit.*, 16 Dec. '63, I, 347, a Council order.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1 Apr. '63, I, 215. Extracts of his melon descriptions were printed in *Philosophical Transactions*, 25 Mar. '69, No. 45, 4, 901-903; 12 Apr. '69, No. 46, 4, 923-924. The editor stated he had received the first "sometime ago"; a note to the second gave the date of June 15.

written something upon that subject," it solicited the Quintinye material, "which (it) would have annexed to Mr. Evelyn's discourse of timber trees . . . owning M. de la Quintinye to be the author."¹⁴ The Society was to be disappointed, but probably not more so than John Evelyn, whose own part in this project was so considerable. Back came de la Quintinye's reply "excusing his not communicating for the present his discourse and experiments of the culture of trees, and . . . intimating his inclination, after more advancement in it, to publish it."¹⁵ In 1693, thirty years later, Evelyn brought out a translation of de la Quintinye's *The Compleat Gardener, or Directions for cultivating and right ordering of Fruit Gardens and Kitchen Gardens*.¹⁶ It is quite possible that Evelyn had not forgotten de la Quintinye's connection with that project of the Royal Society which ended in the publication of *Sylva* in 1664.¹⁷

II

This work of collecting materials for the *Sylva* volume was but an interlude in the Society's more important task of data collection for its mammoth Universal Natural History, the foundation for that superstructure of pure science which was to effect such progress in science and benefit to mankind. Robert Hooke's statement is uncompromising:¹⁸

till there is a sufficient collection made of experiments, histories, and observations, there are no debates to be held at the weekly meetings of the Society, concerning any hypothesis or principal of philosophy, nor any discourses for explicating any phenomena, except by special appointment of the Society or allowance of the President.

For the dual purpose of preserving it from loss through negligence or ignorance and making it available for study by the philosophers, the great mass of data was to be stored in the archives of the So-

¹⁴ Birch, *op. cit.*, 1 Apr. '63, I, 215.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 29 Apr. '63, I, 234.

¹⁶ Although not a point to be stressed unduly, perhaps the translation of de la Quintinye's material on kitchen gardens was considered a contribution to such a history solicited in a special list of inquiries appearing in *Philosophical Transactions*, 18 Oct. '68, No. 40, 3, 799-801. At a later place the writer suggests that Evelyn's *Acetaria*, 1699, was a possible answer to a part of those inquiries.

¹⁷ The appendix to the translation contains the same author's treatises on orange trees and melon raising, "omitted in the French editions." Evelyn, in the advertisement to the section on melons, says that "more than twenty years since," this French gardener sent him an account similar to "that which was about that time published by Mr. Oldenburg." William Upcott, ed., *The Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn* (London, 1825), pp. 97-98.

¹⁸ C. R. Weld, *A History of the Royal Society* (London, 1848), I, 146. Weld is quoting from the manuscript volume of Hooke's papers in the British Museum.

ciety, "laid up (to quote Hooke again) only in Heaps as it were, as in a Granary or Store-House; from thence afterward to be transcribed, fitted, ordered and rang'd and tabled . . . to be made fit for use."¹⁹

An historical project of this magnitude with its army of assistants necessarily creates many problems. Because each touches upon Evelyn, three shall be mentioned: the need of frequent tests for proof of statement, the danger of repetition, the necessary revision of previously submitted histories which though once thought complete now need to be brought up to date. The verifying experiments were so common that Evelyn inevitably would have done his share of them.²⁰ The emphasis that Evelyn makes in his letter to the Society regarding *Sculptura* would indicate that he was seriously attempting to avoid needless repetition.²¹ His history of etching and engraving was to be composed of Part II, "containing the mechanical, and indeed most useful" and Part I "which is the historical, and greatly useful also." Evelyn had completed four plates for the mechanical section when, on visiting a print shop, he learned that William Faithorne's translation of a work by the famous French engraver Abraham Bosse was about to be published. Faithorne suggested that the Bosse translation be incorporated in *Sculptura*, but Evelyn opposed it on the ground of the difference in the two writers' styles. A promise was made President Wilkins to pursue the historical compilation, but for the second part "take off your expectation of mine, which were collections out of that author, with many additions, and a much less perplexed method." His own additions, he trusts, "may be thought fit to be registered."²² Evelyn's preparation for the second edition of *Sylva* was heralded by the following advertisement in *Philosophical Transactions*:²³

I do humbly request that if any Person have any Material Additions or Reformations which he thinks necessary either to the Part, which concerns the Improvement of Forrest-Trees, or that of Cider, he would be pleased to communicate his Notes and Directions to Mr.

¹⁹ Richard Waller, ed., *The Posthumous Works of Robert Hooke* (London, 1705), p. 21. See also another quotation from Hooke, Weld, *op. cit.*, I, 148.

²⁰ For example, Evelyn made tests of syrian seeds for oil, Birch, *op. cit.*, 8 Apr. '63, I, 217; a disqualifying test of the "rain like corn near Norwich," 6 May and 28 June '62, I, 25, 33. In turn a test was made of Evelyn's report on making marbled paper, 22 Jan. '62, I, 70.

²¹ The reviewer of Evelyn's *Numismata*, *P. T.*, 16 Feb. '98, No. 237, 20, 57-61 said that the work, begun five years before, was discontinued at the appearance of Walker's treatise on the same subject.

²² Letter to Dr. Wilkins, Birch, *op. cit.*, 31 Jan. '61, I, 15.

²³ *Philosophical Transactions*, 11 Feb. '66, I, 398.

H. Oldenburgh . . . before our Lady-day next, to be inserted in this intended Edition.

Evelyn voiced his regret in 1698 that he was unable to complete a new edition of *Sculptura* "to bring it from 1662, where I left off to this time, there having since that ben so greate an improvement of Sculpture."²⁴

The histories, as they were submitted to the Society, seem to have been of two general sorts: histories of countries or special districts and histories of subjects. Both were apparently considered to have their peculiar merits, each requiring a different treatment after being housed in the Royal Society; both were necessary, the one to insure that the history would be universal and the other that it would include every category of knowledge.

The Society's industry in composing inquiries for foreign correspondents may have given added impetus to history-making of special districts. These inquiries which essayed to define and direct the historian's choice of material were offered (Hooke explains) "so as any [one] that shall have an Opportunity and willing to promote this Design may accordingly [choose] the things . . . most likely to be instructive for the discovering of the true Nature of that which he inquires into."²⁵ In February, 1661, a special committee on foreign inquiries was formed;²⁶ others were sent to books for suitable extracts.²⁷ At length a model outline was published in *Philosophical Transactions*,²⁸ the work of Robert Boyle and entitled "General Heads for a Natural History of a Country, great or small." The account of natural histories of England and of separate counties of England, projected and accomplished, would require too much space for the telling and is beside our purpose. In 1681 Evelyn reported receipt of a letter from William London, enclosing an outline-history of the Barbados. The Society not only approved London's model plan for this and other histories of English plantations in America he proposed writing, but appointed a committee to compose further inquiries for him, Evelyn to act as the Society's correspondent.²⁹ The subject index to the first volume of *Philosophical Transactions*, divided into three parts, had the statement

²⁴ Wheatley, *op. cit.*, letter to Dr. Godolphin, IV, 16. The material which Evelyn had available, however, concerning "the effigies of famous persons" he had appended to *Numismata*, 1697.

²⁵ From Hooke's *A General Scheme* in Waller, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁶ Birch, *op. cit.*, 6 Feb. '61, I, 15. Evelyn was a member.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 25 Feb. '61, I, 17.

²⁸ *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 11, I, 186-189.

²⁹ Birch, *op. cit.*, 19 Oct. '81, IV, 97. Evelyn's reply to London with the promise of consultation with the Society appears in Wheatley, *op. cit.*, III, 402-406.

heading one of them: "A Natural History of all Countries and Places is the foundation for solid Philosophy."³⁰

History-making by subjects likewise was encouraged. Frequent references are made to the printed lists of inquiries of this type. The Society's committee organization for the compiling of histories was divided according to subject category, and there is evidence that at least one committee assumed the direction of work of historians in special districts.³¹ If one wishes to examine an outline which surveys the whole fields of Nature and Art, with its subdivisions by categories of knowledge, a fine example is the plan of Robert Hooke, published by Waller in *Posthumous Works* and entitled *A General Scheme, or Idea of the Present State of Natural Philosophy, and How its Defects may be Remedied by a Methodical Proceeding in the making of Experiments and Collecting Observations, Whereby to Compile a Natural History, as the Solid Basis for the Superstructure of True Philosophy*. Oldenburg made the comment to Robert Boyle in 1666 that Hooke's was "a method of writing a natural history, which, I think, cuts out work enough for all the naturalists in the world."³² The giant outline is divided into three general parts: (1) histories of "prime sensible qualities," e.g., density, gravity; (2) histories of physical nature, animate and inanimate; (3) histories of trades, divided according to the elements affected, e.g., water,³³ minerals, vegetables. Hooke included even such "particular imployments of man" as schoolteaching and barbering.

These two outline-histories were not only representative of the two general sorts, but they also were similar in purpose if not in size and emphasis to those sketched by other Society members. It was almost the mark of a Royal Society man, in those early days, to be the author of some scheme, plan, circle, idea, or catalogue, the connotation of each term being identical to the experimental philosopher. Evelyn was no exception. His projected history,

³⁰ *Philosophical Transactions*, I, 406.

³¹ Workers in Devonshire & Cornwall, Derbyshire, and Buckinghamshire were furnished with printed copies of inquiries drawn up by the agricultural committee, Birch, *op. cit.*, 13 Feb. '68, II, 238. The list had been printed in *P. T.*, 6 July '65, No. 5, I, 9-94.

³² *The Works of Robert Boyle*, Thomas Birch, ed. (London, 1772), 27 Jan. '66, VI, 216.

³³ Certain material in Evelyn's *Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress, Containing a succinct account of Traffick*, 1674, would be relevant. Evelyn had been commissioned by the King to write a history of the Dutch war. He had not progressed beyond this preliminary subject-history before the request, for political reasons, was withdrawn. *P. T.* reviewed the work.

Elysium Britannicum,³⁴ is akin to both kinds of history compilation; it is at once a history of gardening and as such is a history of a trade, and its title suggests that it is an English garden history.

Upon examination of the outline one discovers that, in general, it pertains to a garden of a special sort, a formal garden. This is particularly noticeable in certain chapter headings.

Book II

- Chap. 5 Of Knots, Parterrs, Compartiments, Bordures, and Embosgements.
- Chap. 9 Of Fountaines, Cascades, Rivulets, Piscinas, and Waterworks.
- Chap. 10 Of Rocks, Grots, Cryptas, Mounts, Precipices, Porticos, Ventiducts.
- Chap. 12 Of Artificial Echos, Musick, and Hydrawlick Motions.

Book III

- Chap. 6 Of Hortulane Entertainments, to shew the riches, beauty, wonder, plenty, delight, and use of a Garden Festival, &c.

Although references, even to chapter and book, are freely made to *Elysium* in the year 1659 and thereafter,³⁵ the evidence concerning its origin is tenuous and internal. "Kalendarium Hortense" is set down as the concluding chapter of Book III, a work composed around the year 1650. In 1658 Evelyn translated *The French Gardiner*.³⁶ Its dedicatory epistle furnishes hints of the *Elysium* but without the familiar title.³⁷ Evelyn has complied with Henshaw's request for this translation because, he says,

³⁴ Wheatley has reproduced the printed sheet containing the book divisions and chapter headings of *Elysium* which he found among the MSS at Wotton, *op. cit.*, III, 192-194.

³⁵ Letter to Boyle asking his help with specific chapters coinciding in name and number with those of *Elysium*, 9 Aug. '59, *Ibid.*, III, 260-261. In addition are: (1) Two letters without signature from Paris, dated September, 1659, commending the scheme and offering a printed bibliography on the subject, *BM. MSS* 15, 948 f. 71; (2) Jeremy Taylor's inquiry of the "Terrestrial Paradise," Wheatley, *op. cit.*, 16 Oct. '61, III, 282; (3) Postscript to Boyle, 23 Nov. '64, on book of flower culture by Rhea (Ray?) which "does in nothing reach my long since attempted design of that entire subject, with all its ornaments and accessories." *Ibid.*, III, 291; (4) Letter to Lord Sandwich in Spain (already loaded with inquiries drawn up by the Society) with catalogue of inquiries "for a worke of mine upon the Hortulan subject." 13 Dec. '67, *ibid.*, III, 355-356.

³⁶ The full title is *The French Gardiner: instructing how to cultivate all sorts of Fruit trees and Herbs for the Garden; together with directions to dry and conserve them in their original; one chapter heading in Elysium concerns the artificial preservation of garden products.*

³⁷ Upcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

I have long since had inclinations and a design of communicating some other things of this nature from my own experience; and especially, concerning the ornaments of gardens.

Evelyn would like

to introduce the least known appendices of gardens . . . the proportions of . . . perspectives, rocks, aviaries . . . and other ornaments . . . without which the best garden is without life and very defective.

Circumstances, however, have intervened "which as yet hinder the birth and maturity of that Embryo." One perceives with irony that Evelyn, a future Royal Society man, was intent upon encouraging a form of garden to be identified with that staunch "ancient," Sir William Temple.

Evelyn stated to William Wotton that the friendship of Boyle and himself was strengthened by their common interest in history-making, when in about the middle fifties their paths crossed.³⁸ At that time Evelyn was at work upon a History of Trades of which *Elysium* was but a part.³⁹ If, before that time, Evelyn thought of his histories in a different sense, he reveals by the first extant letter to Boyle in 1657 that he can see his work as functional to the purposes of "that Mathematico-Chymico-Mechanical Schoole," the Invisible College.⁴⁰ Probably Boyle was not slow in firing Evelyn's enthusiasm for the cooperative methods and benevolent ends of experimental philosophy.

The *Elysium* seems to have been the work Evelyn was most anxious to finish for the Royal Society if one may credit his letter to President Wilkins shortly after election to membership. He finds himself very busy fulfilling the Society's immediate requests for a report on the anatomy of trees and the completion of *Sculptura*. These he will gladly carry out, but, he adds,⁴¹

with this hope & humble request, that knowing upon what other subject I was engaged before I had the honour to be elected one of this august Society, I may obtaine its indulgence, not to expect many other things from me 'till it be accomplish'd; rather that you will take all occasions which may contribute to my design.

Somewhat later in reviewing the second edition of *Sylva* and *Pomona* the editor of *Philosophical Transactions* gives advance no-

³⁸ Evelyn wrote two letters to Wotton, then at work on Robert Boyle's biography, in answer to requests for information on Boyle and his associates. Wheatley, *op. cit.*, 30 Mar. '96, III, 479-387; 12 Sept. 1703, IV, 32-40.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 34.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 7 May, '57, III, 235.

⁴¹ Wheatley, *op. cit.*, III, 280; also Birch, *op. cit.*, I, 15.

tice to readers that "this liberal Author is now busie and preparing for the Press another more August and Noble Work, bearing the title of *Englands Elysium*."⁴² This attempt of a sizeable piece of work in a special field we know was encouraged by the Society;⁴³ nor did the Society forget the promises made to it. In 1684 the Society ordered a letter of thanks to Evelyn for his report on the damage done his garden by frost, and, in addition,⁴⁴

it was also proposed, that there might be mentioned to him the finishing of his Elysium, or Pandects, a book very much desired.

Evelyn's failure to compile books for each of his forty-two chapter headings is not surprising; his various works and translations on that subject, which he considered contributions thereto,⁴⁵ were scarcely a beginning. It is surprising, however, that a reproduction of his scheme should appear in only one of his gardening publications, his last. In his dedication of *Acetaria*, 1699, to the President of the Royal Society, Evelyn is conscious that he offers but "a sallet of crude herbs"; but, he continues, "the plan annext to these papers, and the apparatus made to superstruct upon it would acquit me of having bent all my contemplations on sallets only."⁴⁶ With few exceptions this plan coincides with *Elysium Britannicum*, but here it bears a new title, *The Plan of a Royal Garden*, and the subtitle *Describing and shewing the Amplitude and Extent of that Part of Georgicks which belongs to Horticulture*. The reason for Evelyn's choice of the original title is conjectural; the reason for its change is not less so. It is here suggested that Evelyn's long service upon certain Royal Society committees, stressing as they did histories of the subject variety, may have exerted a real influence in bringing about the change of emphasis.

III

The Society appears not to have appointed permanent committees before 1664.⁴⁷ A council order of the previous December 7th recorded:⁴⁸

⁴² *Philosophical Transactions*, 15 Oct. '69, 4, 1071-74.

⁴³ For example, Sir William Petty, 29 Jan. '80, announced it as desirable "that every member of the society have some aim or design for promoting the ends of the society; and that he would do something in order to prosecute such design." Birch, *op. cit.*, IV, 7.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 16 Apr. '84, IV, 289.

⁴⁵ Preface to *Acetaria*, Upcott, *op. cit.*, p. 729, Letter to William Wotton, 12 Sept., 1703. "What I gathered in this nature (and especially for the improvement of planting and gardening; my *Sylva* and what else I published on that subject being but a part of that worke, (a plan whereof is mentioned in my late *Acetaria*.) would astonish you, did you see the bundles and packets, amongst other things in my *chartaphylacia* here . . ." Wheatley, *op. cit.*, IV, 34-35.

⁴⁶ Upcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 727-729.

⁴⁷ Probably a part of the Society's reorganization coincident with the second charter.

⁴⁸ Birch, *op. cit.*, 7 Dec. '63, I, 341.

That Dr. Merret, Dr. Whistler, and Mr. Hoskyns, peruse the books of the Society wherein the experiments and other philosophical matters, treated of at their meetings, are recorded; together with their journal-books; and consider, which relate to and depend upon one another; as also, wherein they may be defective and how farther to be prosecuted.

This examination resulted in the formation of eight committees: mechanical, astronomical & optical, anatomical, chemical, georgical, histories of trade, correspondence, and one charged with "collecting all the phenomena of nature hitherto observed and all experiments made and recorded."⁴⁹ It is probable that, in general, the function of the georgical committee and that on trades was history-making.⁵⁰ When the membership lists were posted Evelyn was to find himself a member of three: the mechanical,⁵¹ the georgical and the trade committees.

The drafting of Evelyn for the histories of trade was almost inevitable. His first act, upon election to the Society in 1661, had been the presentation of his "Circle of Trades," a history-making scheme of such magnitude as to require cooperative labor for its completion.⁵² His catalogue and those of a number of other members were referred to Dr. Merret, the subsequent committee chairman, who at a meeting in October, 1664, presented a model catalogue of trade histories.⁵³ Evelyn was identified with this committee during the next four or five years; furthermore, with but two

⁴⁹ Birch, *op. cit.*, 30 Mar. '64, I, 406-407; 8 June '64, I, 434.

⁵⁰ "Mr. Howard, Dr. Merret, and Mr. Hoskyns, chairmen of the committee for agriculture and composing of the histories of nature and art, gave an account of what had been hitherto done in their respective committees." Mr. Howard was chairman of the georgical and Dr. Merret of the trade histories. *Ibid.*, 10 May '65, II, 47.

⁵¹ Evelyn's work for this committee is difficult to trace with precision. Because he was not "ingenious," his own contribution was certain to be slight; he did, however, invent a special kind of stove for use in conservatories, Upcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 490-497. Through Lord Sandwich in Spain he obtained a corn plough which passed Hooke's test and was described in *P. T.*, 20 June '70. His description of a French method of modelling in wax and of map-making in bas relief also appeared in *P. T.*, No. 6, I, 99. Evelyn frequently served in verifying experiments of a mechanical sort.

⁵² The Society accepted some of the material he had himself collected for his project: the gift of a book on the history of the rolling press, Birch, *op. cit.*, 7 May '62, I, 83, and a report on marbled paper, *Ibid.*, 8 Jan. '62, I, 65. In 1657 Evelyn had told Boyle of his collections on five trades (exclusive of engraving and etching) "Paynting in Oyle, in Miniature, Anealing in Glasse, Enamiling, and Marble Paper," Wheatley, *op. cit.*, 9 May '57, III, 235. Birch records only the last in his selections from the Society's journal-book. It is quite probable that the others were superseded by reports on like subjects by other members which appeared about the same time in Birch.

⁵³ Birch, *op. cit.*, 19 Oct. '64, I, 476.

exceptions,⁵⁴ all his books on the fine arts appeared within this same interval. Three weeks after the catalogue had been posted with instructions that members should "choose what trade they would give or procure the history of," Evelyn presented his translation of Ronald Freart's *Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern*.⁵⁵ It may be suggested with truth that Evelyn, who as a fellow would be obliged to give the Society a copy,⁵⁶ would present his book soon after its publication. Nevertheless the time conjunction is impressive;⁵⁷ nor is it possible to believe that Evelyn was unaware of the relation of the *Parallel's* subject-matter to the trade-history of architecture. Sprat in his *History* cites it as representative of the work of Society members.⁵⁸

In 1666 and intermittently thereafter for two years, a special committee which included Evelyn was investigating "the several curiosities and varieties of Painting," with regard especially to contemporary methods. Lely, Cooper, and Streeter, we learn,⁵⁹ had "declared their willingness to serve the society in what they could in this matter." Evelyn's second translation of Freart appeared in 1668—the same year the chairman Mr. Povey was "desired to take care

⁵⁴ One is his history of etching and engraving, requested by the Society soon after his election in 1661, read to the members the following July, and presented in book form, 1662, under the title *Sculptura*. *Ibid.*, 3 July '61, I, 33; 11 June '62, I, 85. The second is *Numismata: A Discourse of Medals, Ancient and Modern*, 1697. Its history is troubled. Reference has been made to its deferred publication. At one time Evelyn intended to append it to a second edition of *Instructions concerning erecting of a Library*, but it was too bulky. He refused to have it published until corrected by an expert and had quite given over publication at all when he was persuaded by his bookseller so as to defray engraving costs. Wheatley, *op. cit.*, letter to Dr. Godolphin, 8 Feb. '98, IV, 16-17.

⁵⁵ Evelyn appended his own *Account of Architects and Architecture in an Historical and Etymological Explanation of certain terms particularly affected by Architects*. A second appendix was Albert's *Treatise of Statues*.

⁵⁶ A council order, 28 May '61: "It was resolved that every member who hath published or shall publish any work, give the society one copy." Birch, *op. cit.*, I, 25. If the book were of a philosophical nature the author could own himself a Society fellow on the title page, *ibid.*, 3 Mar. '64, I, 389.

⁵⁷ There are two other time conjunctions, one concerned with the translation of Naude's *Instructions concerning erecting of a Library*, 1661. On 8 May, 1661 occurred a motion for "erecting of a library for the use of the society" (*ibid.*, I, 23), and Evelyn was nominated a member of a special library committee. In December the Society expressed its public thanks for Evelyn's compliment in his dedicatory foreword. Wheatley, *op. cit.*, 3 Dec. '61, II, 139. Evelyn's diary comment is "Too great an honor for a trifle." The second related to Evelyn's treasured Tables of Veins, Arteries, and Nerves, once refused the College of Physicians (*ibid.*, 5 Nov. '62, II, 45-46) but presented to the Society in 1667 at a period when much work on dissection was being done.

⁵⁸ Thomas Sprat, *History of the Royal Society*, 3rd ed. (London, 1772), p. 256.

⁵⁹ Birch, *op. cit.*, 19 Dec. '67, II, 230.

of putting (a special meeting of this committee) into a method, by which it might be effectual for the purpose intended"—with the long self-explanatory title of *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting, demonstrated from the principles of art, and by examples conformable to the Observations which Pliny and Quintilian have made upon the most celebrated pieces of ancient painters, parallel'd with some work of the most famous modern painters, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Julio Romano, and N. Poussin.*

As a member of the georgical committee Evelyn was familiar with its prolonged attempt first to define the extent and then further the progress of a great history of vegetables. The work began characteristically with the compilation of inquiries, Daniel Coxe submitting seventy-eight concerned with problems of soil, compost, seeds, and methods of cultivation.⁶⁰ Then in 1668 Coxe presented the first scheme for "composing and publishing an history of vegetables."⁶¹ There followed a flood of inquiries, designed to quicken and direct the energies of the historians. One list, which appeared in *Philosophical Transactions*,⁶² may have a bearing upon Evelyn's *Acetaria: A Discourse of Sallets*. This list bore the title *Inquiries concerning the Use and Culture of the Kitchen Garden and Winter Greens* for "such as are curious and inquisitive in this noble subject of Vegetation." A large diagram listing the parts of the plant according to roots, sprouts, buds, had parallel columns denoting the use to which they might be put, i.e., eaten raw, conserved, made into cider, into bread and so forth.⁶³ One item is worth quoting: "What Herbs are fit to make Sallets, and how to be order'd for that purpose." The time-span between the appearance of this list of inquiries and *Acetaria* (1699) is long, yet it would appear that at least by 1679 Evelyn had collected considerable materials for such a history.⁶⁴

I have sometimes thought—wrote Evelyn to Dr. Beale—of publishing a Treatise of *Acetaria* which (tho' but one of the chapters of *Elysium Britannicum*) would make a competent volume . . . but . . . I know not how to take that chapter out, and single it for the presse, without some blemish to the rest.

⁶⁰ Birch, *op. cit.*, 19 Apr. '65, II, 32.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 28 May '68, II, 288; 4 June '68, II, 292. This scheme was ordered to be registered, but Birch was unable to locate it. Coxe offered to act as a contributor if some other member could suggest a better outline; otherwise he solicited the cooperation of fellow members in the completion of this one.

⁶² *Philosophical Transactions*, 18 Oct. '68, No. 40, 3, 799-801.

⁶³ Evelyn had previously read an account of French bread-making, *Panificium*, 1 Mar. '65, which was probably a contribution to a trade history, Birch, *op. cit.*, II, 19.

⁶⁴ Letter to Dr. Beale, 6 July '79, Wheatley, *op. cit.*, III, 190.

The early *Elysium* outline differs from the *Plan of a Royal Garden* in but a few particulars. One is the addition of a chapter on sallets.

The really great concept of a plant history, however, was to come from the brain of Nehemiah Grew. At two meetings early in 1673 Grew read before the Society his famous *Anatomy of Plants with an Idea of a Philosophical History of Plants*. Like a true Baconian Grew first reviewed the contemporary state of plant knowledge. He found more species now known than ever before; he commended the precise descriptions of plants by Ray and Morison. He also found work already well done regarding "the ordering of plants with respect to the Alimental and Mechanick Uses; for which amongst others, Mr. Evelyn and Dr. Beal have deserved many thanks and great praise."⁶⁵ Grew divided the work of compiling a true history of plants into five general heads of inquiry, the fifth that "of their Aliment, as Water and other means of Growth." When later he discussed the fifth head he subdivided it into the general parts of "Earth, Water, Her, and Sun"⁶⁶ with special inquiries for each part. The prestige of Dr. Grew combined with the enthusiastic reception of "his whole design with respect to vegetables, and the means of effecting it"⁶⁷ undoubtedly speeded the cooperative activities of the members.

Evelyn's *Terra*, 1676, was read before the Society at the April and May meetings of the previous year and was clearly a part of a program of papers requested by the Council. That body on December 3, 1674 solemnly pledged its members to "provide an experimental discourse for the Society to be made, at some one public meeting within the year, either by himself or some other member of the Society; or to pay forty shillings," and the following week further resolved:⁶⁸

that a letter should be written by the secretary, and signed by the president, to the fellows of the Society hereafter named (13 members including Evelyn) to desire them to provide the like discourses, and to name the day after the 14th of January next, when to bring them in.

The form letter to the Fellows asked for⁶⁹

a discourse, grounded upon or leading to philosophical experiments, on a subject of your own choice.

⁶⁵ Nehemiah Grew, *The Anatomy of Plants with an Idea of a Philosophical History of Plants*, 2nd ed. (London, 1682), p. 1.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 21-22.

⁶⁷ Birch, *op. cit.*, 8 Jan. '73, III, 72.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 158; 10 Dec. '74, III, 160.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 17 Dec. '74, III, 162.

We suggest that Evelyn's *Terra: A Philosophical Discourse of Earth, relating to the culture and improvement of it for Vegetation, and the Propagation of Plants* was a contribution to the Grew history. The final sentence of his paper strengthens this view. He closes his discourse with the hope that it may be⁷⁰

not altogether without some fruit, as the subject has relation to what has so lately been produced, and with happy event made out by those learned persons who have entertained this illustrious Society with the Anatomy of plants.

IV

As early as 1659 Evelyn expressed the hope of being of service to experimental philosophy when, speaking of the work of the Invisible College in Oxford, he said:⁷¹ "how fortunate should I esteem myself, if it were in my power to contribute in the least to that (design), which I augur of so great and universal benefit." The question next arises as to whether his works are evidence of that desire. Granted that Evelyn may have begun his collection as an indulgence of an antiquarian interest, or as the labour of an idle hour, is it not possible, even probable, that association with serious scientists and service on the Society's committees tended to redefine the usefulness of the work he had originally undertaken. Instead of the mere possibility that his histories would be useful to an accidental few, he could be assured that his works, after they had undergone the treatment outlined by the Society, would be instrumental in furthering the welfare not of the few, not even of Englishmen, but of the whole of mankind. The writer believes that such a benevolent concept, so constantly stressed by the philosophers, would be irresistible to a man of Evelyn's nature.

If Evelyn's works can be viewed in this light, the record of his history-making becomes a story of compromise and retreat in his early estimate of his personal contribution to the Royal Society program. His dream that, singlehanded, he could complete a "circle of mechanical trades" was early shattered. Instead, he submitted his catalogue to the Society and was but one of many contributors. For forty years he clung to the hope that he could finish at least one of these trades, that of gardening. By 1699, however, he was forced to admit that that compilation also was impossible except by cooperative labour.⁷²

⁷⁰ The A. Hunter edition of *Sylva and Terra* (York, Eng., 1786), II, 74.

⁷¹ Letter to Boyle, 9 Aug. '59, Wheatley, *op. cit.*, III, 260.

⁷² In Evelyn's preface to *Acetaria*: "There ought therefore to be as many hands and subsidiaries to such a design as there are distinct parts of the whole, that those who have the means and courage may finish a part at least, and in time unite their labours into one intire, compleat, and consummate work indeed." Upcott, *op. cit.*, p. 729.

Not only did Evelyn fail to complete his garden history, but the last thirty years of his life show a marked decline in history publication. Only three of his thirteen so-called philosophical works appeared after *Terra* in 1676: the de Quintinye translation, the chaotic *Numismata*, and *Acetaria*, which he offered the Society's president in a spirit half of apology and half of resignation. Yet the demands upon his time by the world outside, those "secular affaires" which Evelyn called "the burial of all philosophical speculations & improvements,"⁷³ do not explain entirely this diminution of his labour in the Society's behalf. There were changes taking place within the Society, changes of which Evelyn was not unaware.⁷⁴ In the early program of the Royal Society Evelyn's services were needed for work which he was fitted to do: to report upon the practical methods of garden culture, to describe old and new instruments in mechanical trades. During that period he was deserving of the frequent praise accorded him. But by the turn of the century the activities of the Society were taking a different direction. The emphasis was not so much upon mere observation as experimental analysis of nature. Science and natural philosophy were becoming less synonymous. In this new Society Evelyn could take no part; he was a gardener, not a botanist. Other seventeenth century men than Evelyn were to comprehend that the progress of science would not be furthered by the industrious amateur but by the scientific specialist. It is quite possible that the gradual withdrawal of participation in the work at Gresham by Englishmen like Evelyn was not primarily because of flagging enthusiasm for a passing fancy. By 1699 Evelyn's contribution to the Royal Society was to appear both incomplete and unscientific.

The rôle of the Society in Evelyn's own literary output, however, was positive. *Terra* and *Pomona* were certainly requested by the Society. He was indebted to it for the creation and even some of the contents of his *Sylva*, upon which he considered his literary fame to rest. Evelyn confided to a fellow member that the revenue from *Sylva* rightly belonged to his Society.⁷⁵ It is almost impossible to attribute to mere coincidence the striking similarity in the time and subject-matter of Evelyn's art publications with the correlative order of the Royal Society's activities upon history-making. The very nature of that early program served to ally this representative Englishman with one of the most significant movements of his period.

Smith College

⁷³ Letter to Dr. Beale, 11 July '79, Wheatley, *op. cit.*, III, 192.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 191.

⁷⁵ Letter to Dr. Beale, 11 July '79, *ibid.*, III, 191.



CHRISTABEL'S WILD-FLOWER WINE

By ARTHUR H. NETHERCOT

John Livingston Lowes, Wylie Sypher, and others have amply demonstrated Coleridge's habit of assimilating and transmuting the experiences and objects of everyday life even in such romantic, otherworldly poems as "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" and "Kubla Khan."¹ For many years, too, the intrusion of similar details of mundane living into passages of their companion-piece "Christabel" has been recognized, and a comparison of the poem with entries in Dorothy Wordsworth's journal and Coleridge's own memorandum books and letters has revealed surprising and definite contributions of life to art. Here, for instance, are discovered the "huge, broad-breasted, old oak tree," with its "one red leaf, the last of its clan," the full moon behind the "thin gray cloud," the chilly night, the slow advance of spring, the green moss and mistletoe on the oak tree, the "night-birds" (or owls), the howling "mastiff-bitch," the angel-lamp in Christabel's room, etc.² Coleridge's sensitive imagination received all these impressions easily and naturally, and after the creative process had taken place gave them back in the poem in new forms.

Apparently, however, no one has ever thought of speculating on the possible origin of the "wild-flower wine" which the unsuspecting, hospitable Christabel twice offered to her mysterious midnight visitor and which finally had such a restorative effect on Geraldine toward the end of Part I of the poem that

from the floor whereon she sank,
The lofty lady stood upright.

This draught Christabel had already described thus:

It is a wine of virtuous powers;
My mother made it of wild flowers.

Can the initial suggestion for such a drink also be traced to some aspect of Coleridge's daily life?

Most of the affairs of this world Coleridge left to his wife, but on some of them he was something of an expert himself. He was,

¹ Lowes, "The Known and Familiar Landscape," *The Road to Xanadu* (Boston and New York, 1930), pp. 295-307, etc.; and Sypher, "Coleridge's Somerset: A Byway to Xanadu," *Philological Quarterly*, XVIII (1939), 353-366.

² See my book, *The Road to Tryermaine A Study of the History, Background, and Purposes of Coleridge's "Christabel"* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1939), pp. 155-58, 178-79 and note. The present article should be considered as a sort of footnote to this last-mentioned footnote.

for instance, by no means above taking a keen interest in matters involving the well-being of the stomach and palate, as his memorandum book—that Sargasso Sea, which caught and held so many of the odds and ends of his daily life—discloses. In it, for example, he once recorded that he was “Very fond of Vegetables, particularly Bacon and Peas.—Bacon and Broad Beans.”³

But this announcement of his plebeian taste, perhaps intended as a market reminder, had been immediately preceded by a lengthy jotting describing a very innocuous but attractive recipe for home brew:

Six Gallons of Water—
Twelve
[Sic] ~~Eighteen~~ pounds of Sugar.
Half a pound of Ginger
Eighteen Lemons

Ginger to be sliced—Lemons to be peeled—The Sugar and Water to be boiled together, and the Scum—viz—the Monarchica[1] part must go to Pot—Then put in the Ginger with the Peels of the Lemons, and let the Whole be boiled together gently for half an hour—When cold, put in the Lemon juice strained etc—then let the Sum total be put in the Barrel with three Spoonfuls of Yeast—let it work three Days (Sundays excepted—) and then put in a Gallon of Barrel [sic]—Close up the Barrel—Nota bene: you may do it legally the habeas corpus act being suspended,—and let it remain a fortnight—then bottle it.—The wine not to be used even in warm weather till three Weeks after Bottling—in Winter not till after a month.—⁴

The roguish tone of some of these directions should not blind the reader to the serious nature of the whole, for Coleridge really intended to use the recipe or he would not have gone to the trouble to copy it out and correct its proportions as he did. He always prided himself on his skill as an amateur brewer. The interpretation of his “let it work three days (Sundays excepted—)” obviously involves a sardonic glance at the Sunday closing laws, and the assertion of the legality of the operation is also nothing but a remembrancer of the unpopular truth, since the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was actually put into effect by George III from May 16, 1794, to the end of 1801.⁵

³ “S. T. Coleridges Notizbuch aus den Jahren 1795-1798,” edited and printed by Alois Brandl in Herrig's *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, XCVII (1896), 352. Lowes (p. 23) discusses other statements of the same type of gustatory confession.

⁴ *Archiv*, p. 352.

⁵ Lowes, pp. 465-66.

Thus, during the period when Coleridge was composing the first part of "Christabel" (i.e., early in 1798), he or his wife was clearly engaged in home brewing, and it is scarcely surprising therefore that he casually decided to slip a home brewer into his poem. Christabel's unnamed mother had, however, brewed so extensively and artfully that some of her products were still, after all the years since her death in child-birth, kept conveniently in her daughter's bedchamber—for Sir Leoline's household had far transcended Coleridge's instructions not to use the wine for at least three weeks after bottling.

Some skeptics may cry, however, that the wine which Christabel used to revive the fainting Geraldine had been made of wild-flowers, not lemon and ginger. Certainly she so described it when Coleridge printed his poem in 1816. In the same speech she also reassured her patient by calling it a "cordial wine." When the poet had first penned the phrase, however, he had written it "spicy wine," not "cordial wine,"⁶ and here one certainly scents the aroma of the "Half a pound of Ginger"—ephemeral, perhaps, but nevertheless unmistakable. Ginger, after all, is a wild flower, and its root is used in making a certain well-known beverage, quite consonant with Christabel's innocent character in its mildness and not too intoxicating to be found without great inappropriateness in her chamber.

Perhaps, in the interest of romance, I should suppress this evidence that the famous wild-flower wine which Christabel administered to Geraldine was, in spite of Coleridge's labeling his brew "wine" in his memorandum book, simply ginger beer in disguise.

Northwestern University

⁶ *Christabel* by Samuel Taylor Coleridge Illustrated by a Facsimile of the Manuscript and by Textual and Other Notes by Ernest Hartley Coleridge (London, 1907), p. 73 n.



DU BARTAS: A REINTERPRETATION

By A. EMERSON CREORE

Guillaume Du Bartas has recently come to be recognized as a more important figure in literary history than our manuals and histories of literature would suggest. In recent years he has been studied more and more, largely by students of English literature, and has been reëdited by professors Holmes, Lyons, and Linker of the University of North Carolina. But this reawakened interest has been confined for the most part to Du Bartas' ideas, and the prevailing estimates of his language and style remain essentially what they were three hundred years and more ago.¹ From the contemporary Cardinal Du Perron to the present time, Du Bartas' critics have been unanimous in their dispraise of this aspect of his work, and have characterized it as trivial, or bombastic, or in bad taste. But since it is coming increasingly to be realized that Du Bartas' influence was not confined to his ideas, but that his language and style were also influential, it is perhaps time to reconsider these aspects of his work in the light of sixteenth-century practice and of Du Bartas' own literary program, rather than from the point of view of modern esthetics (largely informed, in France at least, by seventeenth-century classical *convenances*) and modern linguistic usage, which have hitherto been the *points de repère* of most of Du Bartas scholarship.²

A combination of three elements in Du Bartas makes him seem strange to the modern reader. First of these is the medieval animating spirit—the idea of a commentary and explanation of scripture, which included conceits (i.e., conceptions) like those of the medieval preachers; secondly, the baroque ornamentation; thirdly, the injection of the erudition of the Renaissance. Even if this esthetic barrier to comprehension is passed there still remains the material difficulty, insofar as the purely linguistic elements are concerned, caused by the lack of any thoroughly satisfactory lexicographical apparatus for the sixteenth century. Until there has been a rigorous *dépouillement* of Renaissance texts it will be impossible to state with assurance that any given word is peculiar to or was first used by a given author. The Huguot *Dictionnaire de*

¹ For this criticism cf. Sainte-Beuve, *Tableau de la poésie française*, Paris, 1908, pp. 304-5; R. Morçay, *La Renaissance*, Paris, 1933, II, 59-61; U. T. Holmes, *Life and Works of Du Bartas*, Chapel Hill, 1935, vol. I.

² The present paper is a brief presentation of some of the principal conclusions of a longer study.

la langue française au seizième siècle, Paris, 1925-35, is far from complete, even in the words from A to Doigt, the only part which has so far been published. The Bloch-von Wartburg *Dictionnaire étymologique* is also incomplete, and the dates of first recorded appearances of words are not always reliable. Godefroy, and especially the *Complément* to his dictionary, are helpful in finding words from sixteenth-century texts, but neither of these works is complete, and Godefroy usually gives no dates for the obscure manuscript and printed sources which he uses. Since this is the case, the following observations, based on a comparison with the available material,³ are liable to error to the extent that these materials are incomplete.

I. THE LANGUAGE OF DU BARTAS

A. Neologisms by "provignement"

There are a few words in Du Bartas which were probably coined by him. There are others which are attested for the first time in his work (so far as our present knowledge goes) but which may have been used prior to him, and among these there are many whose formation is so similar to other sixteenth-century coinings that they might have occurred to anyone. It is much easier, of course, to show that certain words heretofore ascribed to Du Bartas as neologisms are not original with him at all, than it is to establish a list of certain neologisms.⁴ In spite of these difficulties it is possible, however, to show Du Bartas' general tendencies.

³ O. Bloch, and W. von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*, Paris, 1932; Cotgrave, Randall, *French-English Dictionary*, 1650; R. Estienne, *Dictionnaire François-Latin*, Paris, 1549; Hatzfeld et Darmes-teter, *Dictionnaire général de la langue française*, Paris, n. d.; E. Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française au seizième siècle*, Paris, 1925-35; A. Humpers, *Etude sur la langue de J. Lemaire de Belges*, Liège, Paris, 1921; C. Marty-Laveaux, *La Pléiade française*, Appendice: *La Langue de la Pléiade*, 1896-8; L. Mellerio, *Lexique de Ronsard*, Paris, 1895; Rabelais, *Oeuvres*, edited (with glossary) by C. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1890-1902; L. Sainéan, *La Langue de Rabelais*, Paris, 1922-3; Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Allfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin, 1925-39; H. Vaganay, *Le Vocabulaire français du XVI^e siècle: Deux mille adverbies en -ment de Rabelais à Montaigne*, Paris, 1904; *Deux mille mots peu connus*, Halle, 1905; "Pour l'histoire du français moderne," *Romanische Forschungen*, XXXII (1913), 1-184; W. von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bonn, 1928-34, fasc. 1-31; B. H. Wind, *Les Mots italiens introduits en France au XVI^e siècle*, Deventer, n. d.

⁴ Holmes, *op. cit.*, lists *s'amaïsonner*, *desbondonné*, *tremblotter*, and *post-poser* as neologisms, but they are all to be found earlier than the Du Bartas references (cf. Bloch, Huguet and Marty-Laveaux). Pellissier, *op. cit.*, attributes the adjectives *tourbillonneux*, *ravageux*, *moissonneux*, *enrageux*, *perleux*, *glacieux*, *vendangeux*, and *cedreux* to Du Bartas. But some of these had been used by the Pléiade before Du Bartas (*perleux*, *cedreux*, *tourbillonneux*); at least two were in use in the fifteenth century (*enrageux*, *glacieux*). The form *vendangeuse* in the Du Bartas text may be the feminine of *vendangeur* which is attested in Old French as a substantive, and an example of a substantive used as an adjective, rather than the feminine of a hypothetical adjective *vendangeux*. *Moissonneux* does appear to be original with Du Bartas.

The great majority of Du Bartas' neologisms are formed by "provignement," that is, by "grafting" a new termination onto an existing root. In this procedure Du Bartas was consistent with the methods used generally by the Pléiade for the enrichment of the language. New verbs which appear in his text are formed from existing verbs or nouns with the addition or substitution of a suffix, and sometimes a prefix. Such, for example, are *desceptrer* from *sceptre*, *endiamanter*, 'adorn with diamonds,' *s'entrecoudoyer*, *retisser*, *sur-maçonner*. Among the prefixes, *de-*, *des-*, *en-*, *entre-*, and *re-* are the most common. The suffix *-onner* is the only one used regularly by Du Bartas in new formations. These are sometimes formed from nouns, like *crayonner* from *crayon* and *glaçonner* from *glaçon*, but there are a few formed from verbs like *flaironner* from *flairer* and *fourmillonner* from *fourmiller*. Most typical of Du Bartas, however, are several verbs formed from nouns and used in a metaphorical sense: *cabrioler* (Bien que le danseur ait . . . cabriolé, *Eden* 287); *escrevisser* (Tu fais des fleuves sourds . . . escrevisser le cours, *Capitaines* 560); *se paonner* (Adam s'habille, habillé se paonne, *Artifices* 137). Du Bartas himself claimed credit for the formation of *limaçonner* and *dédaler*.⁵ It is interesting to note that the word *alarmer* is attested for the first time in Du Bartas (*Toute alarme m'alarme, Trophées* 48).⁶

The formation of new nouns and adjectives by the addition of a suffix to an existing root was also a common procedure in the sixteenth century. Du Bartas uses this method to some extent, but rather less than the Pléiade. He has no new formations in *-ade* except *adelantade* from Sp. *adelantado* which occurs in its Spanish form in Brantôme. On the other hand, there are a number of apparently new combinations with the suffix *-eur*, like *charmeur*, *trafiqueur*, *floteur*, *presageur*. These adjectives have their feminine forms in *-eresse*: *assiégeresse*, *floteresse*, or in *-euse*: *charmeuses bouches*,⁷ *trafiqueuses eaux*. The *-eresse* termination was usual in Old French for substantives and was used by the Pléiade for both substantives and adjectives, while *-euse* was rare in the language of the Pléiade.

A few adjectives in *-eux* seem to be original with Du Bartas: *alarmeux*, *frimeux*, *limaceux*, *palmeux* and others. There are three

⁵ *Avertissement* of 1584 (Holmes I, 222).

⁶ Littré dates *alarmer* 17th century. Huguet omits the word. Bloch, the *Dictionnaire général* and the Godefroy *Complément* give D'Aubigné, *Histoire universelle* as their first reference.

⁷ Huguet gives examples of this under *charmeux*, but this masculine form does not appear in Du Bartas.

formations with -in: *andrin*,⁸ *cedrin*, *couleuvrin*. Only a relatively few diminutives in Du Bartas appear to be neologisms. These are *enfantillon*, *fontenille*, *fraischelet*, *noirelet*.

The Greek suffix -ide was often used in the sixteenth century to form adjectives taken from place names and personal names, being employed especially to form patronymics. Marty-Laveaux, *op. cit.*, II, 143, lists about twenty-five such adjectives used by the Pléiade. All of these, however, are formed from Greek roots. Du Bartas on the other hand, forms adjectives in -ide from Biblical names, thus putting what was essentially a classical imitation to new uses. Biblical adjectives in -ide used by him are the following: *Abramide*, *Abrahamide*, *Anramide*, *Isacide*, *Jebuside*. Besides these there are a number of adjectives from classical roots like those of the Pléiade: *Acherontide*, *Aeolide*, *Amazonide*, *Amphitrionide*, *Atlantide*, *Castalide*, and so forth.

All in all, among the words formed by provignement only sixty-odd verbs and fifty nouns and adjectives are to be found.⁹ Some of these were probably in use before Du Bartas (e.g., *alarmer*, *surface*),¹⁰ but they are apparently first attested in his work. Many of these words are so similar to other neologisms of the sixteenth century that they might have occurred to anyone. In this kind of word-formation Du Bartas was merely following the tendencies of his time, and the majority of his coinings are no more fantastic than those of his contemporaries.

B. Neologisms by borrowing from other languages

Du Bartas' original borrowings from other languages are very few in number. There appear to be none at all from Italian, and only two from Spanish: *adelantade*, already mentioned, and *cacique*, 'chieftain,' from *cacique*. It is equally untrue that the number of provincialisms or latinisms in his work is excessive. Two or three gasconisms, such as *acaser* and *gastadour* are the only provincial-

⁸ *Surgeon andrin* (P. S. III, 243). In his note to this line Holmes translates 'dirty black.' It is, however, the adjective from Andros, the most important island of the Cyclades group in the Aegean sea, where in antiquity there was supposed to be a miraculous fountain. Cf. Pliny, ii, 103 (106); also cited by Simon Goulart in his running commentary to the text.

⁹ The adverbs, which have a special stylistic use, are discussed below. The number of new noun and verb formations does not seem excessively high when it is realized that the total number of words used by Du Bartas approaches ten thousand.

¹⁰ Bloch and the *Dictionnaire général* date *surface* 1611 (Cotgrave), and the Godefroy *Complément* 1582. But it occurs in Du Bartas, P. S. I, 459, and the *Première Semaine* was published in 1578.

isms that are to be found, and these are not neologisms. A few words, mostly of Greek origin, like *anthropopathie*, 'Humane, or man's passion' [Cotgrave] and *melichien*,¹¹ and which he does not even try to "naturalize" in the text according to the precepts of the Pléiade, do, however, seem to be peculiar to him. The only latinism which appears to be original with Du Bartas is *daedale* (< *daedalus*, 'artful, industrious') in the phrase *la daedale nature* (*Arche* 302).¹² *Daedale*, *dédale*, 'labyrinth,' first attested in Du Bartas, is the gallicized form of *dedalus* which was common in the sixteenth century (cf. Huguet and Bloch).

C. Compound adjectives

The criticism of Du Bartas' use of compound adjectives is even more severe than that of his coinings by provignement and by borrowing from other languages. It is objected that they are too numerous, and indeed 332 compounds formed from a verb and an object, and more than two hundred formed from two adjectives, adverb and noun, or participle and noun, do seem excessive. Furthermore, it is asserted that these compounds are foreign to the spirit of the French language. This criticism, however, does not take into account the stylistic use to which Du Bartas put them. For him they are concise descriptions indicating pictures or ideas suggested by the noun they modify. He defended his use of many compounds on the grounds of economy,¹³ but he clearly uses them chiefly to obtain effects by compressing two previously disparate elements into a close union and a new whole. He expresses in this way, as he does through his metaphors, his similes, his periphrases, the essential and fundamental relationships which he sees in all created things. This compressed expression makes the relationship more striking and effective than a phrase would have done.

One authority, at least, does not agree that these compounds are foreign to the spirit of the French language. This is Arsène Darmesteter, who, after discussing their popular (rather than learned) origin, and their use in the spoken language, writes as follows concerning their use in literature:

¹¹ From *μελιχίος*, 'gracious, propitious,' epithet of Zeus and Dionysus. Du Bartas uses this and other similar terms in a dithyrambic passage in *Schisme*, 487-95.

¹² Cf. *daedala tellus*, Lucretius, 1, 7, 228; 5, 234; Virgil *dedala tecta*, *Georgics* 4, 179.

¹³ "Mon livre eust été aussi grand que le monde, si je n'eusse trouvé des adresses et sentiers pour parvenir bien tost où je vouloy. Or, qui est celuy qui ne cognoisse bien qu'un epithete composé m'espargne tout un vers, et quelquefois mesme deux?" Holmes, I, 223.

Pour la langue littéraire, elle ne peut accepter les composés qu'autant qu'un long usage les a consacrés. Quant à créer des composés nouveaux, substantifs ou adjectifs, elle s'y refuse. Toutefois, à y bien réfléchir, cette sévérité n'a point sa raison d'être dans le génie même de la langue, et peut-être ne serait-il pas impossible d'introduire dans la poésie les composés français chers à Ronsard et à Du Bartas. En somme, ces mots n'ont en eux-mêmes rien de vulgaire ni de grossier . . . Ils sont si peu contraires au style élevé, que Ronsard et Du Bartas, qui affectaient la haute poésie, en usaient et en abusaient. On les poursuit encore par esprit de tradition classique; ils sont encore sous le coup dont les frappa Malherbe, et de nos jours continuent à expier les témérités de la Pléiade. Proscription imméritée! Aucun obstacle bien sérieux ne s'opposerait à les faire revivre dans la langue littéraire.¹⁴

The compound adjectives of Du Bartas are used in several different ways. In many cases they have the function of an *epitheton constans* like the "rosy-fingered dawn" of Homer. Such a phrase as "le dieu cuisse-né" for Bacchus, first used by Ronsard, is typical of this. His more original epithets are chosen to represent the function, the characteristics, or the visual aspect of the thing concerned.

Compounds of the "functional" type are the most common, and several are frequently used together. Early in the *Première Semaine* Du Bartas describes fire with a group of these epithets:

Le feu donne-clarté, porte-chaut, jette-flamme,
Source de mouvement, chasse-ordure, donne-ame . . .
(P. S. II, 857)

The various epithets in this citation demonstrate the organic nature of the poet's conceptions. The multiple considerations which the idea of fire suggests to him are translated in a manner which shows plainly the flexibility of his linguistic material. This is not an idle listing of epithets, but a creative process, giving evidence of a special conception of nature. Consider, too, a similar description of the earth:

Je te salue o terre, o terre porte-grains,
Porte-or, porte-santé, porte-habits, porte-humains,
Porte-fruits, porte-tours . . .
(P. S. III, 851)

Here, of course, there is no abbreviation at all, for Du Bartas might as easily have written: "o terre qui porte grains, or, santé, habits,

¹⁴ A. Darmesteter, *Traité de la formation des mots composés dans la langue française comparée aux autres langues romanes et au latin*. Paris, 1875, p. 243-4.

etc." (as did Sylvester in his translation). But to this idea the nouns *grains*, *or*, and so forth are subordinate manifestations of the fruitfulness which is the main concept of these lines.

A number of compound epithets express characteristics to be found in animals or mythological figures. Such, for instance, are: *le loup aime-carnage*, *le cheval aime-maître*; *l'alge aime-rocher*; *le chameau trouble-rive*; *Jupin roule-cieux*; *Satan charme-coeur*. In certain other phrases the epithet produces a visual image. Thus a high mountain whose peak is in the clouds is called *un mont portenuage*, or *Sina baise-nues*. The waxing and waning of the moon are implicit in *Phoebe change-face*, and the brilliance of a comet in *le comete orne-ciel*. The soft, falling snow is seen in *la neige chet-doux*.¹⁵

The 332 combinations of the verb-object type in the Du Bartas texts are formed from no less than 125 verbs, with, naturally, an even greater variety of objects. But it is interesting to note that more than a third of the compounds are formed with the six verbs *porter*, *briser*, *chasser*, *compter*, *donner*, and *aimer*. There are sixty-one compounds with *porter* alone. In this Du Bartas was in harmony with the popular development, for most of the combinations in the sixteenth century outside of Du Bartas are likewise with *porter*. *Porter* and *donner* represent to Du Bartas the idea of fertility and productiveness, while *aimer* indicates a classical influence, that of Greek *philo*. *Aime-humains*, for instance, is the French equivalent of *philanthropos*. This is quite a striking contrast to Ronsard's forty-four compounds, and to Du Bellay's use of two or three. By far the greater number of them seem to be original creations of Du Bartas; only about sixty appear in the works of his contemporaries.¹⁶

In common with the Pléiade, Du Bartas uses many compounds formed from nouns and adjectives. A few of these are mere juxtapositions, but others like *bleu-noir*, *blonde-perse*, *perse-noire*, denote tones and shades of color to which Du Bartas is keenly sensitive. This keenness of perception is quite evident in such a phrase as "La

¹⁵ Darmesteter, *op. cit.*, has shown that these compounds are formed from the imperative of the verb plus an object. O. Behagel, *Neuphil. Mitt.* (Helsingfors) 1924, 133, has shown that some German compounds of this type are formed from the 3d. pers. sg. of the indicative. *La neige chet-doux* is an example of this type in Du Bartas, as is *la taupe fuit-jour*.

¹⁶ Marty-Laveaux, *op. cit.*, and H. Vaganay, "Deux mille mots peu connus," *Rev. Et. Rabelaisiennes*, 1904, I, II (also published separately), are helpful in locating compounds in other authors. Vaganay also lists a few from Du Bartas.

lune Fait trembler dans Thetis sa face claire-brune," where to the color of the moon (*brune*) and its attribute (*claire*) is added the shimmering quality of the reflection of the moon in the water (*trembler*). Phrases of such sensitivity to visual aspects are often lost in the bulk of Du Bartas' verse, but they are there, demonstrating a subtlety of appreciation of detail which has not been adequately pointed out. Even the position of the attribute in the last quotation is significant: the light of the moon is more important than the specification of the color, and the poet writes *claire-brune* rather than *brune-claire*.

There is no doubt that in using compound words of all types Du Bartas was influenced by the existence of such compounds in the ancient languages, and especially by the use to which they had been put by his contemporaries and immediate predecessors. For his own purposes they appealed to him both as reflections of antiquity and as novelties adding luster to his poetic composition. They do give a Baroque richness of description and amplitude of detail which by their very frequency show how consistent and how vital was Du Bartas' conception of the universe. This effort to correlate experiences of different kinds is a highly conscious element of his linguistic program.

D. *Adverbs*¹⁷

Two general tendencies in Du Bartas' formation of adverbs are to be observed. The first of these is the creation of the adverb from an adjective or a participle in -ant or -ent, without the assimilation of the -nt as is regular for adjectives thus formed. Du Bartas' formations follow the exceptions to this rule, such as *lentement*, *véhémentement*, *présentement* in modern French. This was a method peculiar to the sixteenth century, and only the regular type *ardemment*, *incessamment*, is to be found in the adverbs used by Du Bartas which existed in the language before the sixteenth century. The second of Du Bartas' methods, which was also in wide use in the sixteenth century and before, is the addition of the suffix -ment to a feminine adjective in -euse. With a very few exceptions (e.g., *rougement*, *persement*, which are modeled on other sixteenth-century formations from adjectives of color) all of Du Bartas' adverbial formations are of these two types.

These adverbial neologisms have a special use in Du Bartas: namely, to modify an adjective and to form with it what is essen-

¹⁷ The adverbs are discussed here rather than with the other neologisms by provignement because of the special stylistic use to which Du Bartas put them, which is akin to the compound epithets discussed above.

tially a new compound. In such a phrase as *la mer baveusement hautaine* (Schisme 198), *baveusement* and *hautaine* express two different things: *baveuse* the appearance of the sea; *hautaine* an abstract quality applied to it. In the same way *odoramment* does not, according to the sense, modify *verte* in the phrase *la terre odoramment verte* (Magnificence 723), for the adverb indicates smell and the adjective color. But in the union of such sensory phenomena Du Bartas achieves a new indication of the intimate relationship of things, a restatement of experience, forming new combinations of impressions belonging separately to different senses. In the first citation the visual and moral aspects are joined; in the second, odor becomes colored. In the same way he unites impressions of color and texture (*la chair blanchement tendre*, *Artifices* 170), or of a moral or esthetic and sensuous nature (*le chant charmeusement doux*, *Colonnes* 725). In a few instances both the adjective and the adverb indicate color (*les flots persement blancs*, *Jonas* 40). The primary impression is that of whiteness, but coupled with this there is the impression of blueness. The waves are not white and blue, but white with overtones of blue. Du Bartas' expression indicates the simultaneity and interrelation of the two impressions rather than their coexistence.¹⁸

It should be noted that in almost all of these combinations either the adjective or the adverb, and often both, appeal to one or more of the five senses. Color and taste, odor and feeling and visual aspect are all represented, indicating that Du Bartas used this method not only to give variety to his style, but also to make his ideas more vivid by basing them on sensory experiences familiar to his readers.

II. STYLISTIC ELEMENTS

The style of Du Bartas has often been described as trivial, bombastic, and in bad taste. It would be foolish to deny that his style is indeed foreign to modern canons of esthetics, or to the *convenances* of French classicism, or even to the elevated style of the sixteenth century as exemplified in the relative sophistication of the poetry of Ronsard and the court poets of Henri III. But comparisons with these standards must be avoided if one wishes to understand the structure, the execution, and the historical significance of

¹⁸ This procedure reminds one of the Baudelairean *correspondances*. Du Bartas, of course, does not have the idea that an impression of one category may symbolize one from another, but in joining the two kinds he demonstrates an awareness of the relationship between them.

Du Bartas' work. It is perhaps not sufficiently realized that Du Bartas was justified in claiming credit for the novelty of his *Semaines* and in demanding the privilege of writing them in his own way. No poem similar in purpose and content in the sixteenth century possesses such magnitude of conception nor such complexity of execution as the *Semaines*. The Pléiade had emphasized the desirability of a French epic which they called *le grand œuvre* or *Encyclopédie*, but no one but Du Bartas had the courage to attempt it.

He conceived his poem not as a mere rhymed encyclopedia or scientific tract, not solely as an epic celebrating real or legendary events, but as an epitome of creation embracing the entire known universe, and including both epic and encyclopedic material. It was to be an immense panorama of the world God had created, a translation into poetic form of the universe as he knew it, in which art, science, history, philosophy, ethics, theology, and satire all were to have a part. He intended to treat, he said, "de la nature de toutes les choses qui sont au monde, afin qu'avecques plus grand ravissement le lecteur apprehendast l'infinie sagesse de l'Ouvrier . . ."¹⁹

A. Metaphors

The metaphors of Du Bartas correspond to the same underlying ideas as his compound adjectives and adverbial constructions. Through them he indicates again the essential unity of creation. He might have said, like Théophile Gautier, "je suis un homme pour qui le monde extérieur existe," for he shows on every page his interest in the physical world, especially in its visual aspects, but frequently in the auditive aspects as well. He brings together these impressions of different kinds to produce vivid conceptions by "compression" and contrast. This vividness springs partly from the novelty of the associations, which sometimes produces an effect of shock, partly from a certain indifference to prettiness or elevated poetic style. Perhaps this in turn is based on a pantheistic idea: God the creator of all things exists in all things; they are therefore all good, and there can be no question of their relative merit.²⁰ The

¹⁹ Holmes edition, I, 220.

²⁰ In his *Tableau de la poésie française au seizième siècle*, p. 396, Sainte-Beuve quotes and defends the Cardinal Du Perron who referred to the "vilaines et sales métaphores" of Du Bartas. As an example Sainte-Beuve gives part of the description of God contemplating His creation (P. S. VII, 63 ff.): "Il œillade tantost les champs passementez . . . Or' son nez à longs traits odore une grand' plaine . . ." and he comments: "L'oreille, le nez du

idea that some things are inappropriate to poetry never occurred to Du Bartas. For him the most material metaphors may illustrate the most elevated and spiritual concepts as they did in medieval sermons.²¹

Some of Du Bartas' metaphors are consequently so striking that they might properly come under the heading of *concetti*. One example of such exaggeration of metaphor is the description of a horse dying on the field of battle, "Qui d'une encre pourprée Escrit desespéré son mal-heur sur la prée" (*Vocation* 709). Other samples have seemed in bad taste to many critics. One of these is the use of the verb *syringuer* in a phrase where Du Bartas tells how the earth gives back the moisture it has received from the sky: "Syringuant ses humeurs Par les pores secrets des arbres et des fleurs." In another passage Du Bartas pictures God eager to console after he has punished: "Mais tenant quelquefois pour le salut humain, En une main le fleau, l'emplastre en l'autre main." And in several passages the poet uses *mastic* as a symbol of unity. Now from our point of view a syringe is not poetic; the image of God with a stick in one hand and a plaster in the other is merely funny; the expression of the unity of the elements through the symbol of putty is trivial. But to Du Bartas these were all ways of stating his ideas vividly and with force, and were not at all prosaic, comical, or trivial.

But by no means all, not even a majority, of Du Bartas' metaphors are so striking as these. A great number are commonplace and traditional. In fact, so traditional have some of them become that Du Bartas forgets that originally and essentially they are comparisons. Because of this one finds a number of passages in which figurative expressions are jumbled together or succeed each other without transition. A good example of this occurs in *Décadence* where Isaiah exhorts Hezekiah to prepare for death:

Tout-puissant n'ont paru bons en aucun temps, qu'on le sache bien. L'œil suffisait à tout rendre, mais l'ocillade gâte tout." The critic did not see here that Du Bartas' treatment is in part biblical, in part representative of his tendency to synthesize sensory words to indicate the wholeness of creation and to make his ideas more tangible. Du Bartas might have questioned why God's eye should be acceptable and His nose and ear not, since He is completely holy in all of His parts. Furthermore, the criticism of *avillader* is based on a misunderstanding. In the sixteenth century it was simply a poetic word for *regarder* and did not have the precious connotation which has since been associated with it.

²¹ Cf. B. Croce, "Intorno a Guglielmo du Bartas," *La Critica*, XXVII (1929), 307, for a comparison of Du Bartas with medieval preachers.

Que craignez-vous mon prince, hé, ne sçavez-vous pas
 Que nous *cinglons* tousjours droit au *port* du trespas,
 Où les premiers *anchrez* sont les premiers en gloire,
 Que la nécessité nous contraint tous de *boire*
 En ce *gobeau* broyé par les mains du destin?
 Que la mort n'est point peine, ains des peines la fin,
 L'*huis* du palais de Dieu, du haut pole l'*eschelle*,
 Et le commencement de la vie eternelle? (v. 591-8)²²

Other metaphors bear the stamp of originality, and they are often vivid and telling, some of them decidedly fine. A particularly good one is found in *Loy* where in a phrase inspired by the use of the sacramental wine to symbolize the blood of Christ, Du Bartas displays real simplicity and sincerity of feeling:

Christ, l'agneau sacre-sainct
 Au pressoir de la croix est tellement empreint
 Que de son sang divin la riviere profonde
 Decoule de Sion par tous les coins du monde.
 (v. 791-4)

Another noteworthy example occurs in *Colonies* where the poet is discussing the rise and fall of nations. The metaphor is admirably chosen to illustrate the impermanence of human institutions:

Toutes les nations s'entrepoussent du bras,
 L'un peuple chasse l'autre, et le second n'est pas
 Sur l'*huis* de la maison dont il pense estre maistre,
 Qu'un troisieme le fait sauter par la fenestre.
 (v. 131-4)

All of these metaphors, whether they be commonplace or strikingly original, have in common a pictorial effect which serves both to ornament and to illustrate the narration. They demonstrate in Du Bartas an active imagination, capable of grasping the analogies between widely separated things, and give evidence of a feeling for the manifold relationships in the universe.

²² Cf. also this passage from *Schisme* in which the king's flatterers urge him to defy the wise counsel of the elders:

. . . les mignons, les flatteurs
 Criaient tous d'un accord, que simple il ne se laisse
 Brider si sottement, qu'il presse, qu'il oppresse
 Ce peuple, qui refait ne peut vivre en repos,
 Que d'une *dent de fer* il lui brise les os,
 Pour sucquer la mouelle, et qu'il tiene contrainte
 Sa rebelle fierté dans les *ceps* de la crainte.
 (v. 65-70)

B. Similes

Like his metaphors, Du Bartas' similes and comparisons are derived from wide and varied spheres of nature and of human activity. He finds them in the observation of animals, birds, and insects (or legends concerning them), in natural phenomena, in the social life and customs of his time, in the events of daily life, in medicine and music and the military art. Again like the metaphors, they represent the close and often subtle relationships which Du Bartas felt to exist between all parts of creation, between man and nature, the physical and the spiritual, God and man.

The similes of Du Bartas resemble those of Homer in conception and treatment. Almost every simile in Homer is a complete picture in itself, and while some of them are very exact in their correspondence with the circumstances of the occasion, many more of them are independent of the thought which inspired the comparison, and the poet goes on to finish the details of the image or the group of images which have been suggested to him by the simile itself. Like those of Homer, the similes of Du Bartas are chiefly pictorial. But whereas in Homer the characteristic of the similes is that they have only one point of correspondence with the action, and that beyond that one point the degrees of resemblance vary infinitely, those of Du Bartas usually have several points of comparison. In this they resemble more closely those of Milton. This is true also of the purpose of the simile, which in Homer is often to provide relief from a scene of strife, pain, or crisis, but which in Du Bartas, and in Milton after him, is chiefly for illustration. Like Homer again, Du Bartas shows partiality for the external world, the world one sees, rather than for the realm of the mind. Furthermore, although there are more points of comparison with the action in the similes of Du Bartas than in those of Homer, Du Bartas, too, is fond of digressions and parenthetical phrases which add to the image rather than to a completion of the comparison. Many of Du Bartas' similes are perfectly balanced with the rest of the passage of which they are a part. Such a simile occurs in the *Second Jour* of the *Première Semaine* where Du Bartas describes the cause of thunder. Warm vapor, he says, rises from the earth and mingles with moisture from the sea and inland waters. When this warm vapor tries to escape from the "voisins froids," thunder is heard. He compares this action to a captive lion, and suggests the sound of thunder by a series of well-chosen verbs, linking animate and inanimate nature in a comparison rich with visual and auditive imagery:

Le lyon qui, banni des forests paternelles,
 Se void sifflé, moqué, despité des pucelles
 Et des enfans oiseux, d'un effroyable bruit
 Remplit son parc estroit, va, vient, suit et resuit
 La nouvelle prison, et forcené, desire
 Non tant sa liberté que d'assouvir son ire:
 Tout de mesme ce feu, desireux de briser
 Sa flotante cloison, ne se peut apaiser;
 Ains sans cesse il discourt, sans cesse il tourbillonne,
 Il bourdonne, il fremit, il mugle, il bruit, il tonne,
 Jusqu'à ce qu'esclatant ses prisons par dessous,
 Armé de flamme et souffre, il canonne sur nous.

Here the balance between the two parts is perfect: both the simile and the action described occupy six verses. *Lyon* corresponds to *ce feu*; *desire assouvir son ire* is parallel to *desireux de briser*; *son parc estroit* is the equivalent of *sa flotante cloison*; and the two series of verbs are mutually comparable. The detail *se void sifflé . . . des enfans oiseux* is parenthetical and extraneous to the comparison proper.

In this passage and in most similar passages the transition from the simile to the thing compared is made by a colon (*son ire*:), indicating that the sentence continues and that the thought is carried over. In some cases, however, this punctuation, which is apparently the correct one, has not been observed in late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century texts. It would seem that Du Bartas' editors did not always follow his intention to indicate by the punctuation the close relation between the passages.

It is obviously impossible to quote or to describe all of the various kinds of Du Bartas' similes in the space of these few pages, but some idea of their pictorial nature and the various fields from which he drew them can be gained by observing a whole group which occur in his narration of the history of David in *Trophées*. When David and Goliath confront one another before the battle Du Bartas compares them to two cocks, and the Hebrews and Philistines to the lords who surround the cockpit.²³ The approach of the two adversaries is compared to a battle at sea:

Vi-tu jamais comment un galion attaque
 Dessus les calmes flots une horrible carraque?
 L'une va lentement, et l'autre tourne accort
 A prouë, à poupe, à sponde, à babord, à stribord,
 L'une se fie au vent, l'autre à la rame nage,
 L'une fait plus de peur, l'autre plus de dommage.
 (v. 279-84)²⁴

²³ This is a description of a scene which Du Bartas had witnessed in Scotland.

²⁴ David is the *galion*, Goliath the *carraque*.

David shoots and the stone strikes the giant:

Soudain d'un coup mortel le caillou va marquant
Le Philistin au front, et s'encharne en la sorte
Qu'un plom de pistolet s'enfonce en une porte.
(v. 314-6)

Goliath falls like an undermined tower, and like a mad dog he bites the earth:

Et comme le mastin qui ne se peut venger,
Va contre un dur caillou sa rage descharger:
Goliath mord la terre . . . (v. 341-3)

The narration of the course of David's passion for Bathsheba is likewise embellished with several comparisons. The first of these, in the description of Bathsheba in the bath, is an extremely precious classical allusion:

Telle qu'un lis qui tombe au creux d'une phiole,
Telle que Venus, quand lascivement molle
Elle naist dans la mer, et qu'avecques les thons
Jà le feu de ses yeux embrase les Tritons.
(v. 909-12)

On seeing her, David is blinded as a captive emerging from a dark prison is blinded by the light of the sun. His love for her is quickly kindled like "une scintille Qui chiet dans un tonneau de poudre subtile" (v. 950). Later, after his punishment, David is

Comme l'enfant bien nai, qu'un maistre rigoureux
Surprend en quelque faute, abaisse l'œil pleureux,
Blesmit, rougit, tremblotte, et demande, modeste,
Pardon a son censeur, non de voix, ains de geste.
(v. 1067-70)

These pictorial similes occur more frequently in the *Seconde Semaine* than in the *Première*. This may be due in part to the fact that much of the former was left in an unfinished and unpolished state at the time of the death of the poet. But certainly the chief reason is the greater freedom which Du Bartas felt in paraphrasing and enlarging upon the history of the Hebrews and the stories of the patriarchs. In his *Première Semaine* he was dealing largely with encyclopedic material, and he was usually contented with a short, apt simile. Furthermore, the variety of subjects itself provided a great deal of pictorial material. But in the *Seconde Semaine*, particularly after the First Day (i.e., *Arche* and the following parts), there was more room and more need for the play of his imagination.

It is apparent from his invocation to the Muses in *Vocation* that he realized this, and that he intended to make the most of his comparative freedom.

C. *Periphrasis*

One of the most frequent devices of which Du Bartas made use to diversify and to ornament his verse is that of periphrasis. This device is, of course, common to all literature and particularly to poetry. It was used extensively by the Latin poets and Du Bartas probably found some of his effects in Virgil. Like many other features of Du Bartas' style which have already been discussed, periphrasis is used to produce pictorial effects by the breaking up of a concept into its component parts, by juxtaposition of ideas, or by combining two or more notions to form new entities.

There is nothing unusual about the formation of Du Bartas' periphrases. The most common method is to use a noun of general sense with an epithet or phrase which makes the meaning specific. The mind of the reader is then forced to combine the two elements. Take for example such nouns as *dieu*, *peuple*, *troupeau*, *bande*, *plaine*, *plaisir*, which alone have a general meaning. But when the appropriate epithets are added to them: *dieu porte-lierre*, *peuple amasse-miel*, *troupeau porte-laine*, *bandes emplumées*, *plaine liquide*, *plaisir cyprien*, the mind quickly grasps the specific meaning of the phrase: Bacchus, bees, sheep, birds, the sea, love. It is this statement of a thing indirectly by description rather than by its name that makes the phrase more colorful and expressive. For *le peuple amasse-miel* is not merely a decorative equivalent for *abeilles*; it is the bees and something more. *Peuple* suggests the social organization of the hive; *amasse-miel* the gathering of pollen and the storing of honey. These are associations and overtones which make the periphrase richer and more meaningful than the simple phrase. This is the normal function of periphrasis, but it is of primary significance that Du Bartas used it as much as he did. It is a device admirably suited to the achievement of pictorial expression and the suggestion of associations beyond the immediate necessities of the text.

Du Bartas is especially fond of periphrases for the sun, the sea, birds, and fish. He calls the fish, among other things, *les moites citoyens de la venteuse mer*, *les citadins des flots*, *les bourgeois*

de la plaine liquide. Sometimes the figure of the fish as dwellers of the sea is carried out:

O citadins des flots, quel partageur borna
Vostre humide séjour? Quel monarque cerna
Vostre cité de murs?

(P. S. V, 165-7)

Here *cité* corresponds to *citadins* and the image is complete. But whether or not the metaphor implied in the periphrase is developed in this way, the concept of the social organization of living creatures, as evidenced by the words *citoyen*, *bourgeois*, etc., is fundamental to Du Bartas.

In the phrase *les bourgeois de la plaine liquide*, one must not, of course, give *bourgeois* its modern restricted meaning. In the sixteenth century it had developed from its original meaning of an inhabitant of a *bourg* to a mere synonym of *habitant*. The latter part of the phrase, *la plaine liquide*, is a common periphrase for the sea and is to be found again in *Phèdre*.²⁵ This pictorial method of "compression" goes back to Latin poetry (cf. Virgil, *campi liquentes*) and according to Geoffrey Tillotson²⁶ passes through Joshua Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas to Milton and in general to the poetic diction of the eighteenth century in England. He cites as examples "scaly crew" (*bandes escaillées*) from Sylvester, "finny drove" from Milton (*Comus* 115), and, for *plaine liquide*, Sylvester's "watery camp."

Occasionally the meaning of the periphrase in Du Bartas is dependent upon the context. *Ondes cramoisines* (*Schisme* 265) and *ondes vermeilles* (*Loy* 689) do not convey an immediate, definite picture to the mind unless they are read in their context. Then it is understood that the first means "blood," and the second refers to the Red Sea. In the latter case Du Bartas takes red in its literal meaning and exaggerates it by the use of *vermeille* which gives a more intense impression than merely 'red.' Similarly it is the context that enables one to see the metaphorical use of *escussions ardemment reluisans* for the stars.

Some of the periphrases are purely descriptive without any metaphorical element or reference to associated ideas. The peacock is *l'oiseau tacheté de brillantes rouelles*; Rome is *la ville à sept*

²⁵ In the description of the death of Hippolyte:
Cependant sur le dos de la plaine liquide
S'élève à gros bouillons une montagne humide.
(V, 6, 1513)

²⁶ G. Tillotson, *On the Poetry of Pope*, Oxford, 1938, p. 75.

monts, and the stomach *le creux du ventre plus petit*. Still others show a certain preciousness in the sense of over-refinement and exaggeration of metaphor. *Cuisinier parfait*, for the stomach, would not have been out of place in the Hôtel de Rambouillet. *Rouges couraux* for lips and *tiedes fontaines* for tears recall the petrarchistic imitations of Du Bartas' contemporaries.

It has been mentioned that the greater part of Du Bartas' periphrases are used to indicate things found in nature. This is in keeping with the trend of the Renaissance which had come to be more and more aware of the external, natural world, and which had come to draw increasingly upon visual imagination in expression. A typical example is *le roi des flambeaux* for the sun.²⁷ By it Du Bartas indicates the relationship between the sun and the other heavenly bodies and its superiority with regard to them, and he suggests a comparison to human institutions, a king and his vassals. Thus by periphrasis he suggests a new order and unity of creation to the human mind.

D. Play with words

The listing of words was a characteristic of the humanists of the Renaissance (cf. Rabelais). For them it was a way of displaying their learning and their vast knowledge of Latin and vernacular vocabulary—what Erasmus called *copia verborum*. But it was soon realized that the *copia verborum* had also an artistic use: it could be made to display not only the erudition of the author, but also the immense variety of the exterior world of nature. Thus it became an artistic device for description with abundance of detail and nuance, and it is in this latter tradition that Du Bartas takes his place.

In his description of the plague visited upon the Egyptians it is not enough for Du Bartas to say that it strikes both men and animals. He must make his description graphic by specifying what animals were affected and what kind of sores infested them. Thus he writes:

²⁷ A similar periphrase, *le duc des chandelles*, has become traditional in Du Bartas criticism. Du Perron and Sainte-Beuve censure it severely, and Victor Hugo refers to it in *Notre Dame de Paris*, Liv., VII, Ch. 1: "On était aux premiers jours de mars. Le soleil, que Dubartas, ce classique ancêtre de la périphrase, n'avait pas encore nommé le grand-duc des chandelles, n'en était pas moins joyeux pour cela." I have not been able to locate this phrase in Du Bartas, however, and it may be that Du Perron was quoting from memory and that the other critics have followed him.

Le bœuf chet sous le joug, l'agneau meurt en bélant,
 En paissant le toreau, le pigeon en volant,
 [Dieu] Ores couvre de clous, de pustules, de gales,
 Les hommes, les brebis, les taureaux, les cavales.
 (Loy, 451-4)

In *Colonies* his listing of geographical names serves to show his knowledge and to ornament his verse by giving it a rugged sonority:

La lignée de Cham . . .
 Ensemençe Syrene, et la coste fumeuse,
 Où la Punique mer se desbat escumeuse,
 Dara, Gusole, Fez, Argier, Galate, Aden,
 Tombut, Melli, Gago, Terminan, et Gogden,
 Les deserts bluetans de la triste Lybie,
 Cano, Zeczé, Benin, Guber, Borno, Nubie . . .
 (v. 345-50)

One of the most striking, although by no means the most frequent type of these word groupings is found in those passages where Du Bartas attempts an onomatopoeic description. The importance of the visual aspects of the external world to Du Bartas has been stressed in connection with his use of metaphor, simile, and periphrasis. Here he tries to give an auditory impression by making the sound of the words correspond to their sense. For instance he imitates the barking of a dog:²⁸

D'un branle de poulmon, jappe, siffle, mugit,
 Grommelle, hurle-loin, hennit, fremit, rugit.
 (Furies 235-6)

His most famous passage of this type is the description of the lark:

La gentile alouette avec son tire-lire
 Tire l'ire à l'iré, et tire-lirant tire
 Vers la voute du ciel, puis son vol vers ce lieu
 Vire, et desire dire, adieu Dieu, adieu Dieu.
 (P. S. V, 615-8)

Here there is more than a simple play with the sounds of words. Underneath them is a play of ideas in the pun *tire-lire*, *tire l'ire*, and *tire* has still a third meaning in "tire Vers la voute du ciel." This subtlety is not found in any of his similar passages.²⁹

²⁸ Additional examples of onomatopoeia are to be found in Holmes' edition, I, Ch. 6.

²⁹ This description of the lark has been often imitated. For an adaptation by Le Ville in his *S. Elizabeth*, I, 2, see H. C. Lancaster, *History of French Dramatic Literature of the Seventeenth Century*, III, 427. The 1662 edition of the *Œuvres* of Ambroise Paré refers to Du Bartas in its description of the lark (p. 56).

In connection with this procedure one may mention the reduplication of the first syllable of various words for onomatopoeic effect like *ba-battre* for *battre*, and *flo-flotter* for *flotter*. These words were first used by Ronsard.³⁰ Du Bartas also formed *bou-bouffer*, *bou-bouillir*, *bou-bouillonner*, *bou-bourdonner*, *clouclouquant*, *cracrailler*, *cra-craqueter*, *pé-pétiller*, *sou-souffler*, and *ton-tonner*.³¹ In every case these new formations reinforce the onomatopoeic effect of the simple word, and attempt to suggest sounds or rhythms in sights and feelings which occur in nature: *le cœur ba-bat*; *une clouclouquante poule*; *les cracraillantes troupes des corbeaux*; *le feu pé-pétillant*, etc. These words have been called "silly and meaningless," but they have a very definite meaning for Du Bartas at least, and the effect of silliness that they give may be due to an unconscious identification of them with the language of the nursery in which a child says *fille*, *poupoule*, *mémère*, *pépère*. The same process has taken place in such words as *murmurare* and *balbutire* in Latin, but the effect of the reduplication has been lost through frequent use over a long period of time.

More frequent, however, and hence more typical of Du Bartas' style, are the hundreds of lines in which related words or sounds are used together for a certain effect. It is true that many of these *rapprochements* strike the modern reader as naïve or amusing, and that Du Bartas seeks effects which are no longer approved in poetry. But it must not be forgotten that the sixteenth century, in spite of the elevated conception of poetry expressed by the Pléiade, still appreciated verbal tricks, and that even the Pléiade did not condemn such obvious *tours de force* as the *anagramme* and the *acrostiche*. For Du Bartas the *équivoque* is not an end in itself, but rather a bringing together of two discrete notions in which the similarity in

³⁰ *Babatoit* occurs in the early editions of the *Ode à Michel de l'Hôpital* (cf. the Laumonier critical edition of the *Œuvres*, III, 123). This is apparently the reference which Dr. Holmes said that others had mentioned but that he had been unable to find (cf. Holmes, I, 172, note 40). Ronsard changed the word to *haletoit* in later editions of the *Ode* (Marty-Laveaux edition, II, 122). For other examples of these words cf. Huguet and Marty-Laveaux, *La Langue de la Pléiade*, I, 33. Von Wartburg, *FEW*, 639, mentions an example of *flo-flotter* from Etienne Pasquier.

³¹ Also *ba-bransler*: "du dauphin la ba-branslante eschine" (*P. S. V*, 485). *Bra-* has apparently been reduced to *ba-* for euphony. This seems more probable than *ba < bas*. Cf. Huguet for another example later than Du Bartas.

form or sound of two words is the starting point and the parallel of ideas the development.⁸²

The use of a word repeated in both a literal and a figurative sense is one of the artifices which closely resemble those of the *rhétoriciens*. Two or three examples chosen arbitrarily from many will suffice to illustrate it. Referring to the ability of the octopus to protect itself, Du Bartas uses the word *noir* literally to describe the excretion of the octopus and figuratively in a metaphor for death:

à fin qu'elle puisse avec gloire
Par l'aide du *flot noir* éviter l'onde *noire*.
(P. S. V, 234)

Similarly in the following passage, *feu* and *puant* describe the fire and brimstone which destroyed Sodom as well as the sin of the Sodomites:

Feu, tu punis le feu qui brutal les tourmente,
Et toy, soulfre puant, leur amitié *puante*.
(*Vocation* 1145-6)⁸³

Du Bartas' use of syllepsis is similar to this, for this trope takes a single word in both its literal and its metaphorical sense. The same word then indicates simultaneously action of both physical and moral nature and suggests a mysterious connection between them. Here it is neither a visual nor an auditive relationship that is expressed, but a relationship brought about by the two meanings of the word itself. This trope, of course, is to be found frequently in both classical and modern literature.⁸⁴

⁸² This use of words of double meaning may be an imitation of the Greek use of puns to suggest a possible esoteric connection between words alike in sound and form.

⁸³ Cf. also "le ciel Joindrait volontiers ses larmes à leurs larmes" (*Judith* III, 319); "La vertu n'a vertu que quand elle est en peine" (P. S. VII, 324); "Le dormir ne fait point dormir ses douces peines" (*Magnificence* 692); "Son cœur reprend cœur" (*Vocation* 576).

⁸⁴ Cf. a passage from Racine's *Andromaque* in which Pyrrhus is speaking of his love:

Je souffre tous les maux que j'ai faits devant Troie;
Vaincu, chargé de fers, de regrets consumé,
Brûlé de plus de feux que je n'en allumai . . . (I, 4, 318)

Professor Leo Spitzer, *Rom. Stil-u. Literaturstudien*, 202, gives further examples of this trope from Racine, and indicates that they usually represent an antithesis between the spiritual and the physical. These constructions are exceptionally frequent in *Don Quixote* and are characterized by H. Hatzfeld, *Don Quixote als Wortkunstwerk*, as the "Kongruenz des Inkongruenten." Cf. "dadas gracias a Dios y agua a los manos" (II, 18); "señalado no por la mano de Dios, sino por las uñas de un gato" (II, 48), Hatzfeld, pp. 32-3. Still another example is to be found in the verse of André Chénier, *Élégie XVI*:

Tantôt quand d'un ruisseau suivi dès sa naissance
La nymphe aux pieds d'argent a sous de longs berceaux,
Fait *serpenter* ensemble et mes pas et ses eaux . . .

In one passage Du Bartas speaks of

Le nocher qui, durant sa dangereuse course
Se laisse plus guider par le gain que par l'Ourse.
(*P. S. V*, 99)

and, again, of a horse:

Le courcerot jadis si vif, si gai, si prompt,
Abaisse, extenué, son orgueil et son front.

Du Bartas also uses what is perhaps the most frequent sylleptical expression in the sixteenth century:

Affin qu'avec le lait elle *suçat* la crainte
Du tout-puissant Ouvrier.
(*Judith IV*, 94)⁸⁵

There is another group of *jeux de mots* in which the effect depends upon the use of homophones of different meanings, forming a contrast between sound and sense: "pain non moins saint que sain" (*Loy* 796); "O Loth, quel lot prens-tu?" (*Vocation* 213); "L'if est sans mouvement, le tremble plus ne tremble" (*ibid.*, 533).

The great majority of Du Bartas' plays on words are less *recherché* than these, however. His most frequent trick is to use in a single phrase a noun, a verb, or an adjective with another part of speech from the same root.⁸⁶ This repetition gives a new consciousness of the etymology and thus reinforces the meaning. When we read "Tant d'animaux que sa voix anima" (*P. S. VI*, 427), we are more aware of the original sense of *animal* because of the presence of *animer*. Sometimes in these phrases there is a sort of antithesis: "Le ciel qui borne, non borné" (*P. S. II*, 989). The boundlessness of God is made more real by contrast with the simultaneous realization that He does bound the universe and that He alone is infinite. Similarly "l'innombrable nombre" (*Judith I*, 29) gives a strong impression of great numbers because the concept of number is concomitant with that of infinity.

⁸⁵ Cf. Du Bellay: "les anciens usoient des langues, qu'ils avoient succées avec le lait de la nourrice . . ." *Deffence*, Chamard ed., 155.

⁸⁶ This use of cognates was common in Latin, and Du Bartas may have been influenced in this connection by his reading of Latin literature.

In other cases, however, there is neither identity of sound nor an etymological relationship, but merely similarity in sound:

une couronne Qui . . . et flaironne et fleuronne.
(P. S. III, 470)

les champs plats de Plate.⁸⁷ (Colonies 460)

les voleurs volans.⁸⁸ (P. S. V, 669)

From these examples of various kinds, and from their number, which is naturally far greater than that of the citations given here, it can be seen how consistent was Du Bartas' effort to ornament his verse and to capture the admiration of his readers by these plays on words, these consonances and alliterations. It is probably impossible to convey any exact idea of the extent of that effort, for only by reading a considerable portion of Du Bartas' work can one obtain a just impression of it.

All of these elements, the linguistic innovations, the various stylistic methods through which Du Bartas makes clear his underlying concept of the immensity and at the same time the coherence and unity of the universe, combine to make the *Semaines* unique. Because of the lack of restraint the *Semaines* are more picturesque, the images are more vivid, the expression more personal than the poetry of the seventeenth century when bienséance demanded a comparatively cold and stylized poetics and when exuberance of imagery or spirit was banned. It is true that without the check of formal rules Du Bartas' lack of humor and sense of proportion sometimes led him into excesses. But at the same time, his work is more pleasing to read than many another constructed according to the rules, because of its personal nature.

This study has been called a reinterpretation of Du Bartas. In no sense is this to be construed as a rehabilitation, for he is too far removed from modern taste ever to be read widely with enjoyment. But he can be understood historically, and indeed because of the important literary influence he exerted he should be so understood. It is manifestly an error to criticize him, as he has so often been criticized, for using words which had a different sense in his time than they have today, and it is unfair to criticize him for doing exactly the same thing his contemporaries were doing, and some-

⁸⁷ *Plate*, the river Plata.

⁸⁸ *Voler*, 'fly'; *voler*, 'steal.' The reference is to birds of prey. *Voler*, 'fly' was originally a term of falconry. From this it came to have the meaning of 'steal' in the sixteenth century, and is so recorded for the first time in R. Estienne, 1549 (*Dict. gén.*). Du Bartas' phrase shows that the origin of the new meaning was still felt. Estienne also has *voleur*, 'thief.'

times doing it with more skill, and for more maturely considered reasons.

For Du Bartas is not at all the well-intentioned bungler that our manuals make him. On the contrary he is a man with a highly interesting linguistic and poetic program, all the more interesting since he is so different from what we have become accustomed to expect from a French poet. His long poem, which seems so discursive because largely narrative, is a carefully considered work with a definite purpose, and whose execution is informed by a fresh and unprejudiced approach to problems of language and style. Better perhaps than any of his contemporaries Du Bartas illustrates the Renaissance desire to make language fit thought rather than to make thought fit language. He is significant in the history of taste as well because his work was for a time a best seller, widely read throughout France, and indeed, all over Europe.

The University of Washington

THE CAR QUARREL.

By PHILIP A. WADSWORTH

During the first decades of the seventeenth century the people of France strove eagerly after an ideal of good-breeding or "honnêteté," an ideal which came to its full flowering in the classical period. The quest for elegance showed itself in costume, manners, morals and art, and perhaps above all in the realm of language. The reforms of Malherbe and the discussions in literary salons played their part, as did numerous pamphlets, books and even quarrels concerning points of grammar and usage. The *car* question, which happened to achieve unusual prominence, was one of many such disputes, not important in itself but representative of a larger movement.

The story of *car* is ordinarily told at the expense of Marin Le Roy de Gomberville, author of the once famous romance, *Polexandre*.¹ It is said that he tried to banish the word from the French language; it is known to students of literature that Voiture came to the conjunction's rescue with one of his wittiest letters. The tale has changed very little since it was first related in two of the great source-books for seventeenth-century literary history. Pellisson, the indulgent historian of the French Academy, gave it as follows:

Il se trouva . . . que M. de Gomberville n'aimoit pas à se servir du mot *car*, qui à la vérité est ennuyeux, s'il est souvent répété. . . . Il se vanta un jour de n'avoir jamais employé ce mot dans les cinq volumes de *Polexandre*, où l'on m'a dit néanmoins qu'il se trouve trois fois.²

To this bare outline Tallemant des Réaux, in his fashion, added a few colorful details:

Il prétendoit ne s'estre point servy de la particule *car* dans tout ce roman [*Polexandre*], et prétendoit prouver par là qu'on pouvoit s'en fort bien passer. Malleville dit cela au mareschal de Bassompierre, qui estoit alors dans la Bastille. Un valet de chambre du mareschal se mit en fantaisie de voir si cela estoit vray; il lut les cinq tomes et marqua grand nombre d'endroits où *car* estoit employé.³

¹ Parts of this article have been drawn from a doctoral dissertation, a study of the life and works of Gomberville, which was submitted to the Graduate School of Yale University in 1939. The material was gathered in France, in the year 1938-39, where I held an American Field Service Fellowship granted by the Institute of International Education.

² Pellisson and D'Olivet, *Histoire de l'Académie Française*, ed. C. Livet (Paris, 1858), I, 52.

³ *Historiettes*, ed. Monmerqué and Paris (Paris, 1854-1860), VI, 73.

Both these commonly accepted accounts associate the attack upon *car* with the five-volume edition of *Polexandre*, first published in 1637. Both give the impression that Gomberville's attitude was a peculiar fancy of his own invention. In truth the novelist's crusade reached its climax at least eight years earlier, and the torch he carried had been borne by other hands before him.

In all probability it was Malherbe who first objected to the over-employment of *car*. As early as 1606, in his commentary on the poetry of Desportes, he noted the abuse of this conjunction, making such remarks as "Voilà un chétif *car*"⁴ or "Voilà un *car* aussi hors de propos qu'il en fut jamais."⁵ But Malherbe, for all his asperity, was not unreasonable. He had no antipathy for the word; he only attacked its mis-application, as a stop-gap to fill out lines of verse with the proper number of syllables. It was not until later that the particle aroused his active dislike.

This happened, it seems, when the word began to circulate in a particularly inept and meaningless phrase, "La raison en est *car*." The expression, of uncertain origin, came to be firmly planted in the familiar speech of courtiers. One said "La raison en est *car*" as an evasive and humorous answer when prodded with a difficult or embarrassing question, as in English one might reply "Oh, just because!" It was through the vigilance of Vaugelas that this locution was recorded and explained:

C'est qu'il est passé en proverbe de raillerie dans la Cour de dire "La raison en est *car*," sans la sçavoir déduire ny en sortir à son honneur . . . si bien que ce mot estant devenu ridicule dans ce proverbe, ils se sont imaginez qu'il en falloit . . . fuir l'usage.⁶

Thus the senseless, frequently repeated phrase began to grate upon the ears of purists and, it is easily imagined, especially offended the logical mind of Malherbe.

Vaugelas did not say as much, but he did explain in this way the aversion for *car* acquired by a certain "bonhomme M . . ." Were Malherbe and the "bonhomme M . . ." the same person? There is good reason to think so, for Vaugelas spoke of his unnamed friend, with a trace of mockery, as one who might have been proclaimed "père de la langue et de l'éloquence française."⁷ What

⁴ Malherbe, *Œuvres*, ed. Lalanne (Paris, 1862-69), IV, 338.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 286. Similar examples, IV, 375, 427, 464.

⁶ *Remarques sur la langue française*, ed. Chassang (Paris, 1880). Article *car* in the posthumous *Remarques*, II, 460-463.

⁷ This identification and the interpretation of Malherbe's attitude were proposed by Ferdinand Brunot, *La Doctrine de Malherbe* (Paris, 1891), pp. 485-486, and *Histoire de la langue française*, tome III, *La Formation de la langue classique* (Paris, 1909-11), pp. 385-388.

developed, probably, was that Malherbe became more critical of *car* and made stricter rules for its use. Finally, through the excessive zeal of his disciples or through exaggeration on the part of the public, it was rumored that he wanted to eliminate the word entirely from the French language, and the poet felt obliged to protest:

On accusoit le bonhomme M . . . d'estre auteur du meurtre de *car*: de quoy il avoit conceu une telle colère qu'il s'en plaignoit à tout le monde, et m'a dit à moy plusieurs fois que, pour se justifier pleinement de cette calomnie, il estoit résolu de faire un sonnet qui commenceroit par *car*. Ce n'est pas que quand il l'eust banni de ses escrits, il l'eust pour cela banni de nostre langue.

Malherbe did not write the threatened sonnet and so left no documentary evidence of his part in the quarrel. But, as Vaugelas hinted, if he recognized *car*'s right to existence, he avoided the word in his own writings. It occurs fairly often in his prose, in his poetry virtually never.

The doctrine of Malherbe and his school, for lack of positive assertion, is best revealed in the complaints made by his opponents. The most persistent of his adversaries was Mlle de Gournay. This worshiper of Montaigne was also a lover of sixteenth-century poetry, and she made vehement objections to every reform proposed by Malherbe. In 1626 she found it necessary to speak of *car* on more than one occasion. In an essay on Bertaut and Du Perron, whom she considered as descendants of the Pléiade, she defended their rimes and vocabulary against the rules of the new school. She gave long lists of words rejected by the delicate mouths of the younger generation: "Elles rebuttent *sauf*, *car*, *obsèques*, *épanouir*, et réprouvent encore *égayer*, *allégresse* et plusieurs autres aussi communs et polis."⁸ In another essay she noted many words accepted and spoken by people at court but scorned by the impertinent school of new poets: ". . . témoins en suite *avec*, plus volontiers qu'*avecques*, *car*, aussy souvent que chat se mouche, bien qu'à demy congédié pour rude par ces mesmes escrivains. . . ."⁹ Thus it seems sure that Malherbe actually disapproved of *car*. But his condemnation constituted a rule for poetry alone. Furthermore he had little more dislike for this word than for many others which he wished to eliminate from poetic usage. The dispute would have died with the death of Malherbe in 1628, except that he found a literary heir, for one word at least, in the person of Gomberville.

⁸ *L'Ombre* (Paris, 1626), p. 959.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 618.

The young novelist had known Malherbe since about 1620, and he was greatly impressed by the poet's vivid personality and forceful verse. He was not a pupil at the master's feet, in the sense that Racan and Maynard were pupils, for he wrote hardly any poetry during the 1620's, but he acquired an intense and lasting admiration for Malherbe which he expressed on many later occasions. Once in the sessions of the Academy, when most of the other members were making severe criticisms of a poem by Malherbe, he became indignant and rose in the poet's defence.¹⁰ It was doubtless in imitation of Malherbe that he took up the fight against *car*. As Malherbe had carefully avoided the word in his poetry, so Gomberville would shun it in his own writings, which happened to take the form of prose. As the former had objected to *car's* frequent mis-application, the latter would denounce the word as useless and prove its existence unnecessary to the language. Besides this fantastic abhorrence for a single conjunction Gomberville may well have inherited from his mentor other linguistic principles. If so he failed to record them for posterity, while his antipathy for *car* soon reached the public ear and was turned into legend.

In his first novels (1619 and 1621) Gomberville had employed *car* scores of times. His campaign against the offending word did not begin, probably, until around 1625. In that year he published a pamphlet, a verbose letter of thanks addressed to the marquis of Bréval, who had helped him to obtain a secretarial position with the duke of Chevreuse.¹¹ The letter, 25 pages long, does not contain a single *car*. The text is too short to be conclusive, but in that age of endless, complicated sentences such an omission could scarcely have occurred without conscious effort on the part of the author. His next work was a novel, the *Exil de Polexandre*, mainly composed in the fall of 1628 and published the following spring. In this bulky volume he strove to avoid completely the notorious conjunction. Did he do this in all seriousness, or did he have his tongue in his cheek? As Vaugelas suggests, his attempt may have been an experiment, a trial of dexterity, or perhaps the result of a wager. Whatever the explanation it is a fact that *car* appears not

¹⁰ Pellisson and D'Olivet, *op. cit.*, I, 125-126. A passage in the letters of Chapelain (ed. Tamizey de Larroque, Paris, 1880-83, II, 97) shows that in 1660 Gomberville was still known as an uncompromising defender of Malherbe.

¹¹ *Lettre* (Paris, 1625).

more than once or twice in the 900 pages of the *Exil de Polexandre*.¹²

Vaugelas, the only clear-sighted historian of the *car* question, noted this in the memorandum which, perhaps for fear of displeasing his friend, he never published: "J'ay leu un juste volume tout entier d'un des plus excellens esprits de ce temps, où je n'ay trouvé *car* employé qu'une misérable fois." And this one case must have slipped in by oversight, "veu qu'il fait bien paroistre ailleurs qu'il affecte de ne s'en point servir." Vaugelas comments that the author avoided the word with an ingenuity more to be admired than imitated, and that the feat was only achieved at the expense of occasional ambiguity. Unfortunately Vaugelas is himself rather ambiguous; while he refers to Gomberville quite transparently he does not name the book he read. He merely says that the author soon abandoned his virtuosity in "other volumes which continue the same subject," a statement which seemed to corroborate the erroneous tradition about *Polexandre*.¹³

Gomberville did not repeat his performance of 1629. Three years later he gave to the public a new version of his novel, completely rewritten, enlarged to fill two volumes, and called by the simple title *Polexandre*. Each volume employs *car* more than 40 times. Soon he revised and extended *Polexandre* once again, and in this edition, published in 1637, each of the five parts contains more than 20 cases of the word.¹⁴ He still used the conjunction with a certain restraint, but he had by now abandoned his quixotic campaign to modify the French language. Meanwhile, as *Polexandre* progressed through its various editions, the story of *car* became attached to each new version of the novel. People took up counting examples of the word, with various results depending on their assiduity and the edition which they consulted. Gomberville did not attempt to vindicate himself. Like Malherbe, he adopted the course of silence, apparently hoping that the storm would soon pass by.

The quarrel was to receive new impetus with the founding of the French Academy. This literary club, sponsored by Richelieu, held its first official meetings in the spring of 1634, but it had to

¹² I found only one example, on page 578. Gomberville's course of action had a distant predecessor whose part in the *car* quarrel still remains a mystery. Editors of Béroalde de Verville's collection of stories, *Le Moyen de parvenir* (published toward 1610), have pointed out a curious fact about the book: the first sentence begins, most strangely, with *car*, and the word occurs almost never, if at all, in the rest of the volume.

¹³ When the *Exil de Polexandre* came to be forgotten, the remarks of Vaugelas were taken (e. g., by Brunot) to apply to the first volume of the 1637 edition of *Polexandre*.

¹⁴ The figures noted probably represent no more than half the examples which a word for word search would reveal.

wait three years before its continuance was guaranteed by the ratification of its charter. The new Academy, it will be remembered, faced opposition on all sides. Certain members of the Parlement, alarmed at Richelieu's growing power, threw every possible obstacle in his path. The University of Paris resisted the establishment of a group of intellectuals outside its walls. To the public at large the idea of a literary assembly, which implied state patronage for authors, seemed an expensive innovation. No one, not even the academicians, had a clear notion of what the new body would do. Many people, aware of the fatuous quarreling between the schools of Malherbe and Mlle de Gournay, suspected that the Academy might continue this tradition or, even worse, might try to fix the language by official decrees. Was not Gomberville a member, and was he not working to abolish the word *car*?

Gomberville had long ago ceased doing anything of the sort. But the rumor still persisted and, as the public associated his reputation as an enemy of *car* with the inauguration of the Academy, the old story sprang into new life and became a useful weapon in the hands of satirists. This second phase of the *car* quarrel seems to have had no real basis for its existence. The Academy, from its inception, played with the project of compiling a dictionary, a grammar and a rhetoric (a fact which contributed to the public misconception) but it actually devoted very little time to the discussion of words. *Car* may of course have been mentioned at the meetings, and especially after pamphlets started to give it prominence, but it did not face the danger of official disapproval. Pellisson insisted that it was from Gomberville's unlucky boast executed in his novel that "on conclut aussitôt . . . que l'Académie vouloit bannir le *car*; et, bien qu'elle n'en ait jamais eu la moindre pensée, on en fit mille railleries . . ." ¹⁵

The first lampoon, sometimes attributed to Charles Sorel, was launched immediately upon the Academy's formation. It was a leaflet entitled *Rôle des présentations faites au Grand Jour de l'éloquence françoise, première assize, le 13 mars 1634*. ¹⁶ As its name suggests, the method of this satire is the comparison of an academic session with a hearing before magistrates. It consists of a series of ridiculous petitions and judgments on linguistic matters, its humor depending on the use of legal terminology. Among those who make

¹⁵ Pellisson and D'Olivet, *op. cit.*, I, 53.

¹⁶ Available in Edouard Fournier's *Variétés historiques et littéraires* (Paris, 1855-1863), I, 127-140. Another version, which differs in many respects from this one and does not mention Gomberville by name, is given by Pellisson and D'Olivet, *op. cit.*, I, 455-467. The passage quoted is from Fournier, *op. cit.*, I, 139.

claims are Mlle de Gournay and the trustees of Malherbe's poetry. Then finally:

S'est présenté le sieur B., fondé en raisonnement, requérant que, sans interloquer ny députer commissaire, soit déclaré par la compagnie que le mot *car* est bon et naturellement françois, et tout au moins très utile à la langue. Sur ceste réquisition, a remontré le sieur de Gomberville que, sauf meilleur advis, le sien estoit qu'il fust traicté de . . . *les, leur, son* et autres pronoms, le tout par préférence audict *car*, quy tout au plus, ce luy semble, ne pouvoit prétendre que conjonction.

The question was then referred to the "procureur de la langue" who urged "que fust conservé son rang et ordre à chaque partie de la grammaire, à quoy la compagnie doit avoir principal esgard." This first clumsy attack could scarcely be called an artistic success. It was important because of its timeliness and because of the many productions which followed in its wake.

In the same year Voiture composed the brilliant letter which gave the *car* quarrel a place in literature. Serving on the staff of Gaston d'Orléans, he had lived in exile since 1632. He spent most of 1634 in Brussels, far from the Paris society which he loved but not out of touch with it, for he carried on a large correspondence with his friends at home. From Mme de Rambouillet or her daughter Julie d'Angennes he learned of the new Academy and of the rumor about Gomberville's effort to remove *car* from the language. With a mixture of graceful gallantry, exaggerated seriousness and light-hearted merriment, he wrote to Mlle de Rambouillet deploring the fate of an eminently useful conjunction:

Mademoiselle, *car* étant d'une si grande considération dans notre langue, j'approuve extrêmement le ressentiment que vous avez du tort qu'on veut lui faire, et je ne puis bien espérer de l'Académie dont vous me parlez, voyant qu'elle se veut établir par une si grande violence . . . ¹⁷

¹⁷ *Œuvres*, ed. Uhicini (Paris, 1855), I, 293-296. The letter, undated, is usually said to have been written late in 1637, because it is mentioned in the correspondence of Balzac and Chapelain of that year and on the assumption that the *car* quarrel began with the 1637 edition of *Polexandre*. But Voiture's first sentence shows clearly that he wrote during the early months of the Academy's existence and before he himself became a member. He returned to Paris in October of 1634 and was elected to the Academy before the end of the year. There is a manuscript copy of the letter at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds français 24,426, fol. 161-163), which bears in its title: ". . . écrite de Bruxelles . . . en l'année 1634."

Because of its long existence, its usefulness and economy, *car* must be defended against the meddling academicians. After this injustice, what may they not do next!

On ne fera point de difficulté d'attaquer *mais*, et je ne sais pas si *si* demeurera en sûreté. De sorte qu'après nous avoir ôté toutes les paroles qui lient les autres, les beaux esprits nous voudront réduire au langage des anges, ou, si cela ne se peut, ils nous obligeront au moins à ne parler que par signes. . . .

The danger of *car* should teach us, he reflects, how unpredictable is fate. He thought the word would live forever; but now, after having served every French king in his edicts, it is threatened with sudden extinction. In all his letter Voiture did not speak of Gomberville; his touch was too light for that. Instead he referred to a famous scene in the novelist's *Carithée*. (In the first pages of that novel Gomberville, borrowing an old legend, had shown some travelers terrified when mysterious voices announce the death of Pan.) Voiture knew that his meaning would be understood in the literary salon of Mlle de Rambouillet:

Je n'attends plus que l'heure d'entendre en l'air des voix lamentables, qui diront: *le grand car est mort*; et le trépas du grand Cam [Khan] ni du grand Pan ne me semblerait pas si important ni si étrange.

With another allusion he invokes Balzac, who he feels will surely join him in defense of the venerable conjunction. Then, after a series of gallant compliments, he pouts that Mlle de Rambouillet is fonder of *car* than of him: "En trois ou quatre pages, à peine vous souvient-il une fois de moi, et la raison en est *car*." Thus he closes by playing on the phrase which first gave *car* its prominence, in the days of Malherbe.

For some time Voiture's letter attracted little attention. The years 1635 and 1636 passed quietly in the Academy, and the public grew accustomed to its existence as a harmless literary gathering. Then, in 1637, it received its official sanction from the Parlement. Its participation in the *Cid* quarrel brought it a flood of new publicity. And Gomberville published the huge, complete edition of his novel, a literary event of no little importance. This combination of circumstances started tongues to wagging, and again the question of *car* was revived. Voiture's letter was remembered, re-read and passed about in manuscript copies. On September 28th Balzac wrote to Chapelain: "Le *car* de nostre ami est une fort jolie chose, et il faut avouer qu'il a le génie de la belle et noble raillerie." Chapelain replied on October 10th, agreeing heartily with this opinion. A little later, on November 4th, Chapelain wrote again,

enclosing another copy of Voiture's now famous jest: "Je vous renvoie la lettre du *car* plus correcte que la précédente, quoyqu'il n'y eust que deux petites fautes . . ."¹⁸ Even academicians were beginning to enjoy the jokes at their expense.

It was within the next year or two that the young and learned etymologist Gilles Ménage composed his *Requête des dictionnaires*. In this satire he pleaded with the Academy to abandon its dilatory efforts to compile a dictionary and, in general, to leave the language alone. He devoted a long passage to the *car* quarrel. Gomberville, he said, had eschewed the conjunction in one of his works. Another academician, Balthazar Baro (prolific dramatist and author of a conclusion for D'Urfé's *Astrée*), had sided with Gomberville. *Car* might have been officially condemned, save that:

Sans que Conrart le secrétaire,
D'un tel mal ne pouvant se taire,
S'opposât généreusement
A ce cruel bannissement:
Vous remontrant qu'en toute affaire
Le *car* est un mot nécessaire;
Que c'est un mot de liaison,
Introducteur de la raison;
Et que depuis plus de cent lustres,
Toujours par des emplois illustres,
Il sert utilement nos rois
Dans leurs traités et dans leurs loix.
Sa remontrance, étant suivie,
Au pauvre *car* sauva la vie.¹⁹

Ménage's contribution did not display great originality. The points given as a plea by Conrart were borrowed, indeed almost copied, from the letter of Voiture, a fact which makes it doubtful that Conrart played any part in the history of *car*. The academic scene which Ménage sketches appears, in the absence of all evidence, to have been nothing but a pleasant fiction. Ménage's poem, the work of an amused onlooker, had no importance as a polemic. He allowed it to circulate only among his friends and it brought him no ill will from members of the Academy. It was not printed until about ten years later, and then without his knowledge.

Another manuscript was being passed around in fashionable circles in 1637 and 1638, this one a play called the *Comédie des Académistes*. It was probably never acted, nor even intended for

¹⁸ References are in Chapelain, *op. cit.*, I, 170, 169, 174.

¹⁹ *Menagiana* (Paris, 1729), IV, 259-260. Earlier texts of the poem (e.g., the pamphlet published in 1649) give a longer account of the quarrel, mentioning a song about *car* composed by Faret and Saint-Amant.

the stage, and it did not appear as a book until 1650. The play arose from a collaboration never clearly determined, but the principal author was without doubt the gifted critic Saint-Evremond, who twice rewrote the piece and published it with his works in 1705. In its first form this satire aimed to ridicule the whole subject of linguistic controversy; it attacked not only the reforms which the Academy was imagined to be adopting but also the campaigns of Mlle de Gournay in favor of the old vocabulary of Montaigne. The authors did not deride Gomberville and in fact made a friendly gesture toward him, for they ironically dedicated their play "aux auteurs de l'Académie qui se meslent de réformer la langue, excepté Gomberville."²⁰ But the *car* affair was too well known to escape mention. A dialogue between Silhon and Sérizay about a word threatened with extinction—unnamed but "as important as *ergo* in theology"—may possibly refer to *car*.²¹ And the comedy closes with a resolution adopted by the Academy, containing the line: "Qu'ils [les écrivains] n'usent donc jamais de *car* ny de *pourquoy* . . .," thus citing the word, but only as one item in a long list. The manuscript of 1638 attests the public criticism which greeted the formation of the Academy, but for the history of *car* it is remarkable only for its reticence. It was not until many years later, when Gomberville's effort at philological reform had become a commonplace in the lore of literature, that Saint-Evremond gave him a part in his play.²²

The truth was that, by 1638, no one any longer took the attack on *car* as serious—no one except François de La Mothe Le Vayer, a learned scholar who later achieved distinction as tutor to Louis XIV. In that year he published his *Considérations sur l'éloquence française*, arguing against the grammatical principles of Vaugelas (already well known although they had not yet appeared in print). Useful words like *car*, he pointed out, must be respected and preserved, even if they are deficient in dignity or beauty:

Et n'a-t-on pas donné depuis peu au public de bien gros volumes, où l'on a eu la curiosité de se passer de l'une de nos plus ordinaires

²⁰ *Comédie des Académistes*, manuscript of 1638, ed. G. L. Van Roosbroeck (New York, 1931).

²¹ So Van Roosbroeck suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 48). But in the 1705 version of the play these verses, slightly revised, refer to *or*.

²² In the text of 1705 the resolution about *car* and *pourquoi* is attached to Gomberville and is turned into dialogue:

Gomberville. Que ferons-nous, messieurs, de *car* et de *pourquoi*?

Desmarets. Que deviendrait sans *car* l'autorité du Roi?

Gomberville. Le Roi sera toujours ce que le Roi doit être,

Et ce n'est pas un mot qui le rend notre maître. . . .

From *Les Académiciens*, ed. Bonnières (Paris, 1879), p. 36.

conjonctions, dont on avoit conspiré la perte? . . . N'y a-t-il pas bien de l'injustice à vouloir obliger les autres d'épouser des sentimens si peu raisonnables?²³

This sober objection was based on misinformation and was written eight years too late. Like many other people La Mothe Le Vayer thought that Gomberville claimed not to have used *car* in the large 1637 edition of *Polexandre*, and supposed that the novelist hoped thus to win the Academy's support.

Throughout his book La Mothe Le Vayer spoke of the Academy with great deference, because he desired to become a member himself. It had not occurred to him that Gomberville might be offended by his remarks and might oppose his election, and this possibility, when pointed out to him, caused him considerable anxiety. His predicament was reported in two letters which Chapelain wrote to Balzac in the first months of 1639.²⁴ Chapelain playfully imagined a pitched battle taking place between La Mothe Le Vayer and Gomberville. Did the two men quarrel, as has sometimes been said?²⁵ The novelist may well have been irritated to find his aversion for *car* still remembered and exaggerated, but he seems not to have resisted La Mothe Le Vayer's admission to the Academy. Within a week of Chapelain's second letter, La Mothe Le Vayer joined the ranks of the immortals.

By this time the *car* question had come to be relished as a joke. It was too laughable for further debate. The Academy was allowed to convene in peace, until the days when the dictionary controversies again exposed it to ridicule. The case of *car*, having long outlived all reason for its existence, was at last dropped and argued no more.

But it was not forgotten. If *car* had survived the peril supposed to have menaced it, still its curious adventure made a lasting impression on men of letters. The legend which had grown out of Gomberville's feat of dexterity in 1629 and the almost unrelated events of the following years was transmitted from generation to generation by every author who had occasion to write about Gomberville or the Academy or the French language. Pellisson, Talle-mant des Réaux and Vaugelas each took his turn as *car*'s historian. Mlle de Gournay, in her declining days, no longer felt obliged to defend the word, but she commented bitterly on its "long excommunication."²⁶ When the fashion of "bouts rimés" raged

²³ *Œuvres* (Dresden, 1756-59), II, part one, p. 209.

²⁴ Chapelain, *op. cit.*, I, 364-367, 381-383.

²⁵ Cf. Antonin Fabre, *Chapelain et nos deux premières académies* (Paris, 1890), pp. 121-123.

²⁶ *Advis* (Paris, 1641), p. 743.

in the salons, Isaac de Benserade demonstrated his metrical skill by writing three sonnets for one scheme of submitted rimes, all three sonnets having *car* as their final word.²⁷ Toward the end of the century Louis Augustin Alemand, a commentator on linguistic subjects, reviewed the *car* quarrel in some detail and recalled to mind the pamphlets which had satirized the young Academy.²⁸ Around the same time La Bruyère, less interested in philology than in human perversity, exclaimed:

Quelle persécution le *car* n'a-t-il pas essuyée! et s'il n'eût trouvé de la protection parmi les gens polis, n'étoit-il pas banni honteusement d'une langue à qui il a rendu de si longs services, sans qu'on sût quel mot lui substituer.²⁹

Everyone who mentioned the subject had something to say in favor of the long-suffering conjunction or a mocking word for the singular foible of Gomberville. There was only one exception, the Père Dominique Bouhours. In a dialogue sketching the development of the French language he defended the enemy of *car* and indeed ranked him as a stylist on a level with Balzac and Vaugelas.³⁰ Bouhours refused to believe that a man whom he admired both as novelist and moralist could have committed the crime attributed to him. The judgment of Bouhours, in proclaiming Gomberville's innocence, was no more erroneous than that of the many other literary historians, who accepted the legend and exaggerated the novelist's guilt.

Actually Gomberville was to blame only because he championed blindly and too zealously one of the reforms of Malherbe. But his crusade lasted no more than a few years and ended certainly before the founding of the French Academy; henceforth he was the victim of a false tradition. In all probability the existence of *car* was not placed in danger by Gomberville, nor saved by the pleas of other authors. The quarrel accomplished almost nothing. It was able to flourish so long, only because the writers and scholars of seventeenth-century France were intensely interested in the progress and perfection of their language.

Yale University

²⁷ Benserade, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1697), I, 248, 249, 264.

²⁸ *Nouvelles observations, ou Guerre civile des François, sur la langue* (Paris, 1688), pp. 299-305.

²⁹ La Bruyère, *Œuvres*, ed. Servois (Paris, 1865-1878), II, 207.

³⁰ *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (Amsterdam, 1671), pp. 134-135.

THE WORSHIP OF NAPOLEON IN GERMAN POETRY

By FRITZ L. COHN

One hundred years ago, the return of Napoleon's ashes from St. Helena stirred the memories of Frenchmen and other Europeans alike. The event was widely publicized and provided a theme to French as well as German writers. The cult of Napoleon had started after the Emperor's death in 1821, had reached its climax in 1840, and then had declined. Despite the popularity of the Napoleonic theme in German literature, few studies have dealt with it, and these have been concerned with individual authors. Thus, Niemeyer¹ stressed only Heine's "Die Grenadiere" and Zedlitz's "Die Nächtliche Heerschau." Voretzsch's excellent study "Gaudys Kaiserlieder und die Napoleonsdichtung"² was written with particular emphasis on Gaudy. Holzhausen's books threw light on Heine's relation to Napoleon³ and discussed the Emperor's death in connection with contemporary literature and the press.⁴ Schömann's recent study⁵ barely touches German poetry, while stressing the drama.

Of French studies dealing with Napoleonic worship in German literature, Saint-Mathurin's "Le Culte de Napoléon en Allemagne de 1815 à 1848"⁶ deals especially with the psychological background of the Napoleonic influence on literature. Dechamps⁷ called attention to the incompleteness of the present state of investigation. In his opinion, not a single one of the studies dealing with the influence of Napoleon on German literature is exhaustive; moreover, with the exception of Holzhausen, students of the topic have failed to read some of the pertinent literature on the subject.

The German cult of Napoleon was preceded and paralleled by a similar, though more intensive, worship in France. The ignoble treatment which the English accorded the deposed Emperor set the stage for the French worship of their hero. The far-off, lonely island became a pedestal for his heroic figure; the real Napoleon

¹ E. Niemeyer, "Die Schwärmerei für Napoleon in der deutschen Literatur," *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, IV (1875), 502-517.

² V. Voretzsch, "Gaudys Kaiserlieder und die Napoleonsdichtung," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, XCV (1899), 412-496.

³ P. Holzhausen, *Heinrich Heine und Napoleon I* (Frankfurt a.M., 1903).

⁴ *Idem*, *Napoleons Tod im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen Presse und Dichtung* (Frankfurt a.M., 1902).

⁵ M. Schömann, *Napoleon in der deutschen Literatur* (Berlin, 1930).

⁶ Saint-Mathurin, "Le Culte de Napoléon en Allemagne de 1815 à 1848," *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, VI (Janvier-Février, 1917), 47-86.

⁷ J. Dechamps, "La Légende de Napoléon et la Littérature Comparée," *RLC*, X (1929), 285-307.

became a mythical, a legendary figure.⁸ As a phenomenon in French literature, the Napoleonic Legend did not arise until after the Emperor's death. French poets, under the leadership of Béranger and Victor Hugo, set out to proclaim the glory of the national hero. While Béranger, the chansonnier, employed the figure of the Napoleonic veteran to speak to the people, Victor Hugo, the great stylist, expressed subjective ideas and reflections about Napoleon. Barthélemy and Méry, less known French poets, wrote the epic *Napoléon en Egypte* (1828). Another epic, that by Edgar Quinet, appeared in 1836. In contrast to these poets who were filled with admiration for Napoleon, Lamartine and Barbier preached against the despot and dictator whose wars had cost France the prime of her manhood.⁹

Outside of France, the majority of the European poets proclaimed the Napoleonic glory. The Italian Manzoni, the Pole Mickiewicz, the Russian Lermontoff, the Swedes Tegner and Nicander,¹⁰ transplanted the glory of Napoleon abroad. In England the voice of Byron proclaimed his admiration of Napoleon. With the exception of the French, however, it was the Germans who paid the greatest homage to the dead hero.

Various reasons account for the admiration of a man whose actions had inflicted tremendous losses of men and materials on Germany. As the years advanced, antagonism disappeared gradually, and Napoleonic history was viewed more impartially. Sympathy and sentimentality about the victim of the English was aroused by his death in 1821. This attitude developed to regular worship among large portions of the population which were dissatisfied with the existing government. The pleasant recollections of the Napoleonic regime were especially strong in the Prussian Rhine-provinces. In that part of the country the population protested vigorously against the Prussian governmental system, comparing it with the liberal rule under Napoleon. Every trace of the French administration, including the *Code Napoléon*, was eradicated after 1815. While the population of the Rhineland looked back to the Napole-

⁸ Cf. A. L. Guérard, *Reflections on the Napoleonic Legend* (London, 1924), Book III, "The Napoleonic Saga in French Literature." F. M. Kirchseisen, *Napoleon* (New York, 1932), p. 720.

⁹ The most important French poems dealing with Napoleon can be found in the anthology of M. A. Allem, *L'Épopée Napoléonienne dans le Poésie Française. Poèmes Choisis* (Paris, 1912).

¹⁰ A German collection by G. Mohnike, *Napoleon. Stimmen aus dem Süden* (Stralsund, 1829), included the following five poems in their original and German versions: Nicander, "Napoleon in Moskau"; Tegner, "Der Held"; Byron, "Napoleons Lebewohl"; Nicander, "Napoleons Monolog"; Manzoni, "Der fünfte Mai."

onic times with longing and with respect,¹¹ the corps of the Rhenish veterans who had served under the Napoleonic colors, displayed open worship of their former Emperor. Not until 1883, the year in which the last of these "anciens" died, did the custom of celebrating Napoleon's birthday and the anniversary of his death cease.¹²

All these factors contributed to the diffusion of the Napoleonic Legend in Germany and prepared the way for a favorable reception of literature about Napoleon. The beginnings of the Napoleon cult in German poetry can be traced back to as early as 1816, the year in which Heine wrote his famous poem "Die Grenadiere." It is, however, significant to remember that Heine did not publish this poem until after the death of his hero. Platen selected the Emperor's departure for St. Helena as the background of "Colombos Geist" (1818), the first of his great ballads. The poet, who, in his early lyrics, had associated his thoughts with the then prevailing anti-Napoleonic tendencies, changed his opinion after the end of the wars in favor of Napoleon. His poems and epigrams of later years are further evidence of his admiration of Napoleon.

Napoleon's tragic death was the immediate cause for several poems, of which Grillparzer's ode "Napoleon" (1821), Platen's "Ode an Napoleon" (1825), and his "Acqua Paolina" (1827), as well as Immermann's "Das Grab auf St. Helena" (1828) have survived.¹³ Goethe who expressed his admiration for Napoleon on numerous occasions,¹⁴ did not exploit the St. Helena theme in the form of poetry; in 1823, however, he paid his respect to the dead hero by translating Manzoni's ode "Il Cinque Maggio" into German.

Barthélemy's and Méry's poems were translated into German by Gustav Schwab in 1828. During the same year, the Austrian Zedlitz wrote his cycle "Totenkränze" and in 1829 the ballad "Die Nächtliche Heerschau" which was widely imitated in Germany and

¹¹ Cf. J. Hesko, *Napoleon der Große* (Wien, 1856), p. 3: "Der Name Napoleon erweckt in Jedem von uns angenehme Erinnerungen aus der frohen Kinderzeit. Wie eifrig horchten wir da in den langen Winterabenden, wenn der gute Vater unsern Fleiß durch eine lange Geschichte aus der Franzosenzeit belohnte." Berthold Valentin, *Napoleon und die Deutschen* (Berlin, 1926). E. D., "Napoléon et l'Allemagne," *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, XXVIII (Mai-Juin, 1939), 238 ff.

¹² P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 116. Walther Klein, "Der Napoleonkult in der Pfalz," *Münchener Abhandlungen*, Heft 5, (München, Berlin, 1934). Review of this study, *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, XXIV (Mai-Juin, 1935).

¹³ Among the works of now forgotten authors were: August Lamey, "Sankt Helena" (1822), "Hudson Lowe," August Mahlmann, "Die Insel Helena und ihr Grab," F. A. von Stägemann, "Bonapartens Tod" (1828).

¹⁴ Andreas Fischer, *Goethe und Napoleon* (Bern Diss., 1899).

translated abroad.¹⁵ Anastasius Grün's "Der Invalide," depicting the fate of a Napoleonic veteran, appeared likewise in 1829.

Between the years 1830 and 1840 German poetry about Napoleon increased in volume.¹⁶ The well-known works of Zedlitz, especially the famous "Geisterschiff" (1832), have been sufficiently interpreted before.¹⁷ Of the many poems which were influenced by Zedlitz's verse, we mention only Saphir's "Die letzte Stunde," E. Fink's "Die nächtliche Meerfahrt," Stieglitz's "Das Grab auf St. Helena," Drobisch's "Sankt Helenas letzte Tage," Wessenberg's "Napoleons Ende zu St. Helena," and Weyermüller's "Napoleon auf St. Helena." We have already referred to the thorough studies dealing with Gaudy's "Kaiserlieder" (1835), a cycle of scenes from the life of the Emperor.¹⁸ During the following years some of the more popular poetry about Napoleon was collected. Niklas Müller, a Napoleonic veteran, first published such poems in the *Mainzer Liederbuch* (1837);¹⁹ a collection of 1840²⁰ comprised likewise popular verse, while many of the better known poems were added to a popular history of Napoleon which appeared in 1842.²¹ Of greater value than these anthologies were the *Napoleonslieder* by Ortlepp, and the *Napoleons-Album* by Brinkmeier, both of 1843.²² The former comprised German, as well as English and French, poems about Napoleon. Thirteen years later Otto Weber's "Blätter vom Stamm Napoleon" appeared in Leipzig. No further collections were arranged until 1913, when Wencker's anthology²³ presented German and French poems which had survived.

¹⁵ Cf. O. Hellmann, *Joseph Christian Freiherr von Zedlitz* (Leipzig, 1910). In France, Barthélemy and Méry translated "Die Nächtliche Heerschau"; Gautier imitated the poem in his "Les vieux de la vieille," Victor Hugo in his ode "A l'arc de triomphe."

¹⁶ During this period Chamisso and Gaudy translated Béranger's famous Napoleonic poetry into German.

¹⁷ Cf. O. Hellmann, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Cf. C. Voretzsch, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ *Mainzer Liederbuch für die Veteranen der großen Napoleonsarmee von 1803 bis 1814* (Mainz, 1837). Cf. also Walther Klein, *op. cit.*; P. Holzhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

²⁰ *Napoleon'sche Gedichte. Zum Besten der Unglücklichen in Lyon* (Leipzig, 1840).

²¹ *Napoleon Bonaparte der große Kaiser der Franzosen, sein Leben, seine Heldenaten und sein Ende. Ein Büchlein für Jedermann. Mit einem Anhang enthaltend die beliebtesten Gedichte über Napoleon und seine Helden* (Nürnberg, 1842).

²² *Napoleonslieder von Victor Hugo, Baggesen, Rückert, Byron, Zedlitz, Barthélemy, u.s.w., zusammengestellt von Ernst Ortlepp. Seitenstück zu Schiller- und Goetheliedern* (Ulm, 1843). Ed. Brinkmeier, *Napoleons-Album* (Braunschweig, 1843).

²³ F. Wencker, *Dichter um Napoleon. Eine Auswahl der Napoleonpoesie* (Berlin, 1913).

Influenced by Gaudy's "Kaiserlieder," many German poets chose episodes taken from Napoleonic campaigns as favorite subjects of their verse. An example of this type of poetry is Freiligrath's "Der Bivouac" (1838).²⁴ In this *Stimmungsbild* from the campaign in Egypt, Freiligrath depicted the Emperor resting amidst his grenadiers, dreaming of the hundred empires which he hoped to dominate in the future. Freiligrath's treatment of the theme reveals internal relationship to Gaudy's poem of the same title and also to Victor Hugo's "Bounaberdi."²⁵ A similar type of poem is Freiligrath's "Der Scheik am Sinai," in which the poet described the belief in an eventual return of the Emperor.²⁶ This longing for the Emperor is also developed in "Der Mann mit dem kleinen Hut," a popular poem from the *Mainzer Liederbuch*, which, in many of its details, shows relationship to Béranger's "Les Souvenirs du Peuple."²⁷

In some of Heine's poems, the indirect method of Napoleonic worship reminds us of Béranger's treatment. Thus, like the latter's famous sergeant who tells of former hardships and joys in Napoleon's army, a drum-major becomes the exponent of former glory in Heine's poetry.²⁸ Napoleon, Heine relates, had his double in the person of this soldier whose martial appearance broke the heart of every woman. The Emperor's treatment at St. Helena is reflected by the ill-treatment which the former drum-major, now a hotel servant, has to endure during his old age. In some of its details this poem shows a striking relationship to Victor Hugo's "A un soldat devenu valet" which portrays a veteran who had to stoop to attend the dog of a wealthy old lady.²⁹ In contrast to the biting humor in Heine's poem, pathos adorns Victor Hugo's verse.

The return of Napoleon's ashes to France in 1840 gave the cult a strong impulse and the event provided a new theme to Napoleonic poetry. Of all the poetic descriptions of the final scene, those by Victor Hugo and by Heinrich Heine, both eye witnesses, are espe-

²⁴ F. Freiligrath, *Werke* (Ed. Zaubert. Leipzig und Wien, 1912), I, 67.

²⁵ F. von Gaudy, *Werke* (Berlin, 1853), "Kaiserlieder." Victor Hugo, *Œuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1912), I, 747.

²⁶ F. Freiligrath, *op. cit.*, I, 93.

²⁷ Fr. von Soltau, *Deutsche Historische Volkslieder* (Leipzig, 1856), p. 492, "Ein Mainzer Volkslied aus den dreißiger Jahren." J. P. Béranger, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1876), II, 182.

²⁸ Heinrich Heine, *Gesammelte Werke* (Hoffman und Campe: Hamburg, 1868), XVII, 220, "Der Tambourmajor."

²⁹ Victor Hugo, *Œuvres Posthumes. Toute la Lyre* (Ed. J. Hetzel: Paris, n. d.), pp. 62 ff. Internal relationship between Heine's poem and that by Victor Hugo is possible; both poems date of 1843, the French poem being only a few months older. Cf. also P. Holzhausen, *Heinrich Heine und Napoleon I.*, pp. 182 ff.

cially striking. The former's "Le Retour de L'Empereur"⁸⁰ created a great impression even in Germany and served as model of Geibel's "Napoleons Heimkehr" (1840).⁸¹ Heine's realistic description of the funeral cortege revealed the ghost-like character of the final apotheosis. With historical truth he portrayed the scene along the Champs Elysées and at the Dome des Invalides. Behind the gilded hearse carrying the golden coffin marched a small army of Napoleonic veterans in their moth-eaten, ill-fitting uniforms. Snow on the streets and the foggy weather was a unique stage setting for the phantom-like spectre. Once again the glory of the past was conjured:

Die Menschen schauten so geisterhaft
In alter Erinnerung verloren—
Der imperiale Märchentraum
War wieder heraufbeschworen.⁸²

While Heine's verse was a result of his personal observations, poets in Germany reacted upon the news of the event. The reverberations in favor of Napoleon were particularly strong in the Rhineland. Most prolific in this region was Christian H. Gilardone, the author of a cycle of twelve songs dealing with the event of 1840.⁸³ Karl Geib, also a Rhenish poet, adopted the theme of Napoleon's return in a series of lyrics.⁸⁴ The year 1840 became the subject of historical folk-songs, such as "Napoleons Asche in Paris, 15. Dezember 1840,"⁸⁵ "Glück zur Fahrt," and "Bertrands Gruß."⁸⁶ The German poet Franz von Dingelstedt came to Paris shortly after Napoleon's final burial and visited the monumental resting place. At the Hôtel des Invalides he spoke to some of the Napoleonic veterans whose reverence and love of the dead Emperor moved him deeply. He described their longing for the Napoleonic period which the veterans contrasted with the present regime of the weak citizen-king.⁸⁷ It was generally known that the return of Napoleon's ashes from St. Helena signified less the payment of debt to one of her

⁸⁰ Victor Hugo, *Œuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1912), I:6, 216.

⁸¹ E. Geibel, *Werke* (Stuttgart, 1883), VIII, 52.

⁸² Heinrich Heine, *op. cit.*, XVII, 147 ff., "Deutschland, Ein Wintermärchen."

⁸³ Chr. H. Gilardone, "Zwölf teutsche Lieder, den Söhnen Frankreichs gewidmet," Landau, 1840. The original was not available. Cf. *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, XXIV (Mai, 1935), 318.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Quoted by F. W. von Dittfurth, *Die historischen Volkslieder von der Verbannung Napoleons nach St. Helena 1815, bis zur Gründung des Nordbundes 1866* (Berlin, 1872), p. 78.

⁸⁶ *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, XXIV (Juin, 1935), 373.

⁸⁷ Franz von Dingelstedt, *Sämtliche Werke* (Berlin, 1877), VIII, 142, "Im Haus der Invaliden."

greatest sons, and more the desire of the French government to win the sympathies of the masses. Large factions of the population voiced open criticism against the removal from St. Helena. Even in Germany the act was decried as a desecration:

Rührt dieses Grab nicht an! unheil'ge Hände.
Ihr Kleinen wisset nicht, was Ihr beginnt!
Sie wühlen's auf—ist keiner, der es wende?
Weil in Paris man auf ein Schauspiel sinnt.³⁸

The writer of these lines appealed to the English to prevent the removal of the body from St. Helena. Even after the exhumation, the poet continued, it had not been too late for the selection of a resting place that would have avoided the ambiguous spectacle in Paris. Like Attila, whose grave was unknown, or Alaric, whose resting place lay somewhere beneath the Busento, Napoleon should have been given to the unknown sea, rather than laying him to rest in Paris:

Laßt ihm das Meer! Gönnst seiner Asche Frieden!
Sie sprachen: In dem Dom der Invaliden.³⁹

Herwegh, too, held the removal of Napoleon's remains to be an altogether unworthy act. Ridiculing the worship of Napoleon by the government of Louis Philippe, he called the removal of the "eagle" Bonaparte by the "linnet" Louis Philippe a piece of bitter irony:

O Spott! es schleppt in ihre Mauern
Ein Hänfling dieses Adlers Leiche;
Nicht Jubelschall, nur banges Trauern
Sollt' herrschen in der Franken Reiche.⁴⁰

Besides being opposed to the theatrical apotheosis of this particular military hero, Herwegh, the democrat, rejected the worship of a foreign idol in general. A declared friend of the French people, Herwegh emphasized his antagonism to Napoleon, the dictator and despot. To him the resuscitation of the Napoleonic Legend was dangerous in that it might lead to a new war. He suggested that the Germans, instead of trying to find an object of their hero-worship

³⁸ F. Gruppe, "Napoleons Grab," quoted by H. Marggraff, *Deutsche Kampf- und Freiheitslieder von der Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* (München, 1870), 345.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Georg Herwegh, *Werke* (Berlin, 1912), p. 58, "Ufnau und St. Helena." Herwegh treated the same subject in a fragmentary version unknown before 1913. Cf. *Euphorion*, XX (1913), pp. 471 ff. "Neue Bruchstücke aus Herweghs Nachlass. Mit Einwilligung von Marcel Herwegh in Paris mitgeteilt von Victor Fleury in Clermont-Ferrand."

abroad, might begin to idolize their own forgotten heroes, such as Ulrich von Hutten:

Wie lang mit Lorbeer überschütten
Wollt ihr die korsische Standarte?
Wann hängt einmal in deutschen Hütten
Der Hutten statt des Bonaparte?⁴¹

Herwegh saw his prototype in Hutten, the valiant fighter for the cause of freedom whose final resting place at the island of Ufnau gave the poem its title. The contrast between Hutten and Bonaparte symbolized Herwegh's love of freedom and his opposition to military dictatorship. Herwegh's conception of Napoleon was not exceptional among the democratic German poets of the 'forties. Another example is Hoffmann von Fallersleben, who sarcastically declared his satisfaction after the final scene of the Napoleonic drama:

Nun, er ruh' in Gottes Namen,
Und du, Frankreich, freue dich!
Und wir alle jauchzen: Amen!
Wär's der letzte Wüterich!⁴²

In contrast to Herwegh and Hoffman von Fallersleben, the majority of the political poets of the 'forties saw in Napoleon the reformer and propagator of freedom. The psychological background which was so favorable for the preservation of the Napoleonic Legend prevailed more strongly than ever prior to the Revolution of 1848. Certain poets expressed the desire for a Napoleonic rule, being disillusioned at the failure of the German governments to introduce the promised reforms. The anonymous writer of a sonnet hoped for another Napoleon to guide Saxony, his country, successfully through the present political turmoil.⁴³ Ernst Ortlepp, one of the most eloquent political poets of the period, had always been an ardent admirer of Napoleon, the statesman. As early as 1831, he ventured to predict the arrival of a new Napoleon from whose statesmanship every nation would benefit.⁴⁴ In 1841, Ortlepp wished that a leader such as Napoleon would be present to put an end to the controversy over Becker's Rhine-song.⁴⁵ The Austrian

⁴¹ Georg Herwegh, *Werke*, p. 58.

⁴² Hoffman von Fallersleben, "Napoleons Asche," quoted by P. Holzhausen, *Heinrich Heine und Napoleon*, p. 277.

⁴³ "Politisches Zeitsonnet von einem Sachsen," quoted by R. Marggraff, *op. cit.*, 284.

⁴⁴ E. Ortlepp, "Zu eignung an die Leser," quoted by F. Wencker, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, "Der Casus Belli" (1841), quoted by F. Petzet, *Die Blütezeit der deutschen politischen Lyrik, 1840-1850* (München, 1903), p. 422.

Anastasius Grün, too, preferred the rule of Napoleon to that of the present emperor. If the emperor Ferdinand only possessed some of the qualities of the late Napoleon, he could rely on a much firmer support of his subjects, Grün pointed out. Encouraged by the manner in which Napoleon's love for his soldiers was requited by their unyielding loyalty, the Austrian monarch should display friendlier feelings toward his subjects in order to win support for his crown.⁴⁶

The years following 1848 and the second half of the century saw a steady decline of German poetry about Napoleon.⁴⁷ The growth of the country and its political atmosphere, as well as the gradual disappearance of the older poets were some of the reasons for the obsolescence of such verse.

The Napoleonic cult revived in Germany during the 'nineties after scientific research had created a new interest in the subject.⁴⁸ Its literary expression, however, was in the drama and in the novel, rather than in verse.

This discussion would be incomplete without a few words about the part which Napoleon's family and his soldiers played in German lyrics. Gaudy and Saphir addressed some of their poems to Laetitia, Napoleon's mother. The fate of his son, the Duke of Reichstadt, was the theme of numerous poems. Upon his birth Platen wrote the "Ode an den König von Rom" (1811). In one of his later poems, "Die Wiege des Königs von Rom" (1828), Platen, much like Immermann in "Wiege und Traum" (1829), deplored the unfortunate youth. The death of Napoleon II gave rise to vast poetic idealization. Of the many poems which dealt with the event, Saphir's "Des Hauses letzte Stunde" (1832) became widely known among the German people.⁴⁹ Folk-songs, as for example "Der König von Rom,"⁵⁰ are further evidence of the popularity of the theme. Contrary to the general mourning over the premature death of the duke, an anti-Napoleonic tendency was displayed in a few of these historical folk-songs. Instead of regret over his death, their writers expressed the opinion that by this event European history was spared a re-occurrence of the unfortunate Napoleonic period.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Anastasius Grün, *Sämliche Werke* (Leipzig, 1907), III, 39, "Vorboten."

⁴⁷ To the poetry after 1848 belong: Scherenberg's "Waterloo" (1849), Wurzbach's "Napoleon" (1851) and "Der Page des Kaisers" (1854), Hilgard's "Die Hundert Tage" (1867), as well as C. F. Meyer's "Napoleon im Kreml" (1870).

⁴⁸ F. M. Kirchheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 720 ff.

⁴⁹ Quoted by F. Wencker, *op. cit.*, pp. 146 ff.

⁵⁰ Quoted by C. Mündel, *Elsässische Volkslieder* (Strassburg, 1884), p. 193.

⁵¹ "Tod des Herzogs von Reichstadt. 22. Juli 1832," quoted by F. W. Dittfurth, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Herwegh, the antagonist of Napoleon, did not conceal his indifference when he learned that the Emperor's son was dead. He was moved by the tragedy of a youth, yet he refused to extend his sympathy to the member of this royal house:

Könnst' ich an eines Königs Grabe weinen,
Hier flösse endlos meiner Tränen Zoll.
Allein.—ihr beide seid ja nicht die Meinen.⁵²

Contrasting the life of the deceased with that of any unknown proletarian, Herwegh concluded the poem with the ridiculous lines:

Um einen Bettler darf die Muse weinen,
Du warst ein Kaiserssohn—ich weine nicht.⁵³

Shortly after the final apotheosis of Napoleon I, his nephew, later Napoleon III, made an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Monarchy of July and to usurp the throne. The landing at Boulogne and subsequent failure of the revolt was described in several German historical folk-songs in which the nephew of the great Emperor was frankly caricatured.⁵⁴ Moritz Hartmann⁵⁵ considered his election as President in 1848 as a disgrace of democratic ideals, while Grillparzer scoffed at the manner in which Napoleon III imitated his great uncle.⁵⁶

Reviewing the part of Napoleon's soldiers in German poetry we distinguish two groups, his marshals, and the rank and file of the soldiers. Many of the former pass in magnificent review in the verse of German poets. Ney,⁵⁷ Bertrand, and Mortier are pictured as the most loyal leaders of the army. Bertrand's fidelity at St. Helena became the subject of historical folk-songs which extolled the memory of the last of Napoleon's followers.⁵⁸ Behind the marshals appear the common soldiers. Many different types were depicted by Zedlitz, Gaudy, Heine, Grün, Dingelstedt, Freiligrath, Ortlepp, Smets, Drobisch, and Kalisch,⁵⁹ and by the anonymous authors of

⁵² G. Herwegh, *op. cit.*, p. 119, "Tod Napoleon II."

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Two different poems entitled "Louis Napoleons Putsch in Boulogne. 6. August 1840," were cited by F. W. Ditfurth, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 ff.

⁵⁵ Moritz Hartmann, *Gesammelte Werke* (Stuttgart, 1874), II, 30, "Reimchronik des Pfaffen Maurizius."

⁵⁶ F. Grillparzer, *Gedichte* (Stuttgart, 1872), p. 261, "Louis Napoleon."

⁵⁷ Cf. Gaudy's "Kaiserlieder."

⁵⁸ See above. "Bertrands Gruß." "Bertrands Abschied," quoted by Fr. von Soltau, *Deutsche Historische-Völklieder* (Leipzig, 1856), p. 490.

⁵⁹ See above. Wilhelm Smets, *Neue Dichtungen aus den Jahren 1824-1830* (Bonn, 1831), p. 65, "Die Garde stirbt und ergibt sich nicht"; p. 92, "Der alte Grenadier"; p. 135, "Der Fähnrich und seine Fahne." Theodor Drobisch, "Die Dattel," Ludwig Kalisch, "Das tote Pferd," quoted by F. Wencker, *op. cit.*

historical folk-songs. The soldiers are seen following their Emperor through every single one of his campaigns. We become witnesses of their infinite attachment to Napoleon, for whom they sacrifice their lives. He is idolized by the soldiers who left their wives and children, and he becomes their father through victory and defeat. Their fidelity continues even after his death, his old veterans being charged with the propagation of the Napoleonic Legend.

The development of Napoleonic poetry in Germany showed several significant aspects. The interest in the Napoleonic theme started really after 1821, the year of the Emperor's death, grew during the following two decades, reached a climax in 1840, declined slowly until 1850, and then almost disappeared in German verse. Between the years 1837 and 1843, a special interest in collections of Napoleonic poetry was displayed. By and large, the poets simply exploited the Napoleonic Legend. Their favorite themes were episodes from the Egyptian and the Russian campaigns, while the return from Elba and the battle of Waterloo formed the background in a large number of poems. The gloomy atmosphere of St. Helena, Napoleon's death, and the burial in 1840 provided the poets with further opportunity for a glorification of the French hero. The legendary character is frequently represented through the device of the Napoleonic veteran, who, relating the glorious past, dreams of an eventual return of the Emperor. While Napoleon I remained always in the background of the scene, members of his family, too, became leading figures in the hands of the German poets. Although the majority of these poets sought to spread the glory of Napoleon, some applied the subject politically, either by proclaiming liberal ideas, or by fostering German unity. The general popularity of the Napoleonic theme before 1850 was deeply seated in the minds of politically thinking poets, and the products of these known and unknown writers of Napoleonic poetry arouse our interest by nature of their thematic material and the trend of their ideas rather than by their poetic form.

University of California

THE CUCKOO'S "PARTING CRY"

By HENRY L. SAVAGE

So have I heard the cuckoo's parting cry,
From the wet field, through the vext garden-trees,
Come with the volleying rain and tossing breeze:
The bloom is gone, and with the bloom go I!
Thyrsis, stanza 6.

I have at times wondered why the last line of this stanza should be printed in italics. It would seem to be the poet's intention to make it onomatopoetic, an attempt to render the cuckoo's voice. But if so, why this series of monosyllabic sounds, and not the clear dissyllabic *Cuck-oo!* which is heard during an English springtime.¹ Some of us, the writer among them, have heard this early spring-call, but few have recorded the monotonous monosyllables that crowd this last line of Arnold's sixth stanza.

But where one's own experience may be lacking, the experience of the race can be called upon. Folk-rhymes and the natural history book can supply an answer.

One old rhyme runs thus:

In April the cuckoo can sing her note by rote;
In June, out of tune, she cannot sing a note;
At first, cuckoo, cuckoo, sing still can she do,
*At last cuck, cuck, cuck,—six cucks to one coo.*¹

Another thus:

In April the cuckoo shows his bill;
In May he sings all day;
In June he alters his tune;
In July away he'll fly;
In August go he must.²

A. Thorburn, speaking of the bird's song, says: "The males, travelling in advance of the females, soon announce their presence by the well-known call which, continuing through the month of May, becomes broken and hoarse before ceasing in June."³ This is the call which the final line reproduces. It is, as Arnold says, "the cuckoo's parting cry."

¹ John Heywood, *Proverbs*, etc. 95th epigram of the sixth hundred, ed. J. S. Farmer, London, 1906. Italics in text mine.

² Brewer's *Dict. of Phrase and Fable*. Italics in text mine.

³ A. Thorburn, *British Birds* II, 53. Italics in text mine.

Let us look at our poet's picture. The time of Arnold's imaginary vignette is early June, "before the roses and the longest day" (June 21st). Midsummer Day (June 24th) is yet to come with its accompaniment of snapdragons, carnations, "Sweet-William with its homely cottage-smell." The best is yet to be. Yet even with that promise, the cuckoo's warning notes are heard. They tell the poet that the best in its turn must go; that its time must come, as the bird's time has already come.

That Arnold's line imitates the bird's notes, as one hears them in late spring and early summer, seems certain. The criticism that one not infrequently hears of Arnold, that his metrical skill was not markedly high in an era when the lack of it was the exception, not the rule, is, broadly speaking, true. Apostle of "form" though he was, he was too interested in the "idea" embodied in a poem to give his verse a finish and refinement that might endanger the reception of that "idea."⁴ Yet here the *amende honorable* is due him. The pauses that fall between those tuneless monosyllables make the last line one where sound and sense fuse to produce reality.

Princeton University

⁴ Perhaps it is fairer to say that Arnold was not interested in the refinements of metrical technique, and consequently lacked proficiency in a field where Tennyson, Swinburne, and Rossetti won laurels. To admit so much is not to admit that he lacked metrical skill.

REVIEWS

Christopher Marlowe, A Biographical and Critical Study. By FREDERICK S. BOAS. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. v+336. \$4.50.

In his well-known earlier book, *Marlowe and His Circle* (1929), Dr. Boas wrote a terse and temperate biography of the dramatist. In the present volume he writes not only a biography, now much expanded to take account of the many discoveries of the past decade, but also a detailed commentary on the plays and poems. The two types of subject-matter are kept in separate chapters, which are intermingled in a roughly chronological arrangement.

Of the two, the biographical sections seem clearly the stronger. Dr. Boas, to be sure, contributes no new factual information about Marlowe or his associates. The usefulness of his book lies rather in the skilful assemblage and cautious interpretation of the data from the diversified research of Eccles, Bakeless, Tucker Brooke, and many others. An inherent conservatism pervades this part of the work. After an independent examination of the Corpus Christi Buttery books, on which Bakeless first did notable pioneering, Boas is inclined to minimize the irregularity of Marlowe's attendance at his college. As in *Marlowe and His Circle*, he still refuses to see anything very sinister in the playwright's secret service for the Government or to indulge in curious speculations about it. His account of Marlowe's share in the Bradley affray of 1589, uncovered by Eccles, is very matter of fact, and, indeed, almost too bare of interpretation. On the much debated question whether or not Marlowe was assassinated for political reasons, Boas' former disposition to answer in the negative has been strengthened by E. Vine Hall's findings that the coroner's jury was probably not packed or bribed, but he continues to suspend final judgment. A similar hesitation to state a definite conclusion is evident in his summary of the "School of Night" controversy, and even in so small a point as whether Touchstone's words in *As You Like It* about "a great reckoning in a little room" are a reference to Marlowe's death. In most cases the deliberate sanity and solid scholarship of the book are a welcome corrective to overmuch theorizing, but there are times when one wishes for a more decisive stand.

Parts of the treatment of Poley, Frizer, Skeres, Kyd, Richard Baines, and Sir Walter Raleigh's circle in their relation to Marlowe are re-assertions, often without verbal change, of attitudes taken by Boas in 1929. These, however, have been well combined with analyses of the more recent investigations, and the resultant discussions have both unity and force. One exception is to be found in what is said about Raleigh and Marlowe. Boas repeats a former

statement that there is no evidence of any real intimacy between the two men, but at the same time, in other portions of his book, he has unfortunately allowed himself to be persuaded by Miss Bradbrook's *School of Night* that their conceptions of the nature of Deity and of the Soul are significantly the same. The necessary final resolution of the problem is not attempted. With regard to Poley, about whom more and more is becoming known through the labors of Miss Seaton and Miss de Kalb, Boas' chapters are particularly full, compact, and lucid. He has likewise made use of Tucker Brooke's identification of Richard Baines. Boas' acceptance of the essential truth of the latter's charges against Marlowe is substantially as before, but whereas he seemed once to consider them a fairly close transcript of the poet's actual conversation he now speaks of the obscurities as "a vulgarized and poisoned version of Marlowe's denial of the divinity of Christ."

Approximately half of the book is devoted to discussion of the plays and poems, with special emphasis upon Marlowe's employment of sources and his susceptibility to classical influence. Boas' method of handling the plays is to give a rather full summary of the action, with plentiful quotations from the text, and to work in his critical views as he goes along. It is here that the book seems weakest. In many places there is an excess of resumé and quotation and a deficiency of analysis. Plays as familiar as Marlowe's do not need so much re-telling, especially if it be considered that the many intricate biographical and bibliographical sections of Boas' book will appeal primarily to readers who already have some experience in Elizabethan study. On the other hand, the source analyses, although suggestive, are too incomplete and broken up to yield any clear idea of exactly what materials Marlowe had at his disposal and what he did with them. This objection is least true of the chapter on the sources of *The Massacre at Paris* where the author does valuable service by insisting that Marlowe had a definite source for the massacre scenes, pointing out some of his borrowings from it, and concluding that the surviving text of the play is less imperfect than has usually been thought. Also very useful is the stress laid on the extent of classical influence throughout the plays, although it may be asked whether Boas does not overestimate its effect on the characters of Tamburlaine and Guise. Of the interpretations in general I can only state my opinion that they are vivid and enthusiastic but somewhat lacking in subtlety.

Much more effective work is done on the poems, notably on the translations from Ovid and Lucan. Here Boas has some interesting things to say about the aptness of Marlowe's vocabulary as a translator and the qualities of his versification. Notations of mistranslations are taken in every case from L. C. Martin's edition (1931) but are more thoroughly interpreted.

At the outset of the discussion of every poem and every play there is a characteristically judicious survey of all evidence as to

authorship, date, sources, text, and editions, while questions of unusual complication are sometimes argued in separate appendices. Here also appear some instances of Boas' careful indecision. Such are his withholding of judgment after an elaborate review of the *True Tragedy—Contention—Henry VI* plays tangle, and similarly with regard to the dating of *Hero and Leander*. On the whole, however, his opinions in this department of the book are more positive, and rather more unorthodox, than they are elsewhere. For example, he retains from his own edition of *Faustus* (1932) his belief in the 1592 date for that play and the relatively greater reliability of the 1616 quarto as against that of 1604. He properly receives into the Marlowe canon, upon Eccles' recent argument, the Latin prose dedication to Watson's *Amintae Gaudia* as well as the Manwood epitaph, and, upon J. Q. Adams' analysis, the Collier leaf of *The Massacre at Paris*. Scarcely defensible, however, is the case built up for Marlowe's authorship of *Arden of Feversham* on the basis of a few supposed resemblances in verse matter and dramatic technique.

Scholars will welcome the book's concluding chapter for providing what has long been needed, a usable, brief account of Marlowe's reputation and Marlowe scholarship from the Renaissance to the present. With Tucker Brooke's essay on a part of this subject, it constitutes a good foundation in a field in which much yet remains to be done. The chapter also contains a vigorous summary estimate of Marlowe's personality and his dramatic achievement. These passages finely conclude what is, despite its inequalities, a very useful and reliable volume.

PAUL H. KOCHER

University of Washington

The Epistolary Novel in the Late Eighteenth Century, a Descriptive and Bibliographical Study. By FRANK GEES BLACK. Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon Publications, 1940. Pp. iii+184. \$1.25.

Professor Black has produced a detailed, scholarly study of the English novel of letters during the years 1781-1800. Although the greatest epistolary novels, those of Richardson, and *Humphrey Clinker* and *Evelina*, had all appeared before this time, in sheer numbers the epistolary novel reached its apex in 1788, when thirty-four such novels were published. During a number of years in the last two decades of the century more than half the novels published were in letters; hence, the study of the form becomes also largely a study of contemporary taste in fiction. After 1788 the vogue of the letters novel waned, until at the beginning of the nineteenth cen-

tury, it had ceased to be an important part of the annual output of fiction.

For its rapid decline in popularity Professor Black suggests two causes: the gradual realization of its technical difficulties and restrictions, and the trend of popular taste away from sentiment toward action. It is in the field of sentiment that Professor Black finds the epistolary novel achieving its greatest success. Letters, he points out, are sentimental documents which offer great opportunity for self-analysis, from which it is only a short step to dalliance with sentiment. That most authors were unable to resist taking the step is suggested by the profusion in which "sentiment" and "sensibility" in their varying forms are found in the titles of contemporary novels. A chart appended to the study to show the relative popularity of various types of fiction between 1745 and 1825 reveals a striking parallelism between the rise and decline of sentimental fiction and of the epistolary novel. For most of the flood of sentiment the inspiration was, as would be expected, Richardson; but many writers, particularly late in the century, found inspiration in Goethe and Rousseau. Professor Black finds definite influence of *Werther* on ten novels written between 1785 and 1790. Rousseau's influence was also considerable. Sterne found fewer imitators, almost certainly because of the greater difficulty of successful imitation.

Perhaps more important than his contribution to the rising tide of sentiment was Rousseau's influence on the novel of propaganda, which also thrived in the epistolary form. Rousseau's educational theory, as developed in the epistolary *Nouvelle Heloise* and the non-epistolary *Emile*, appeared in many English and American works. The interest in social and political questions quickened by the American and French revolutions was reflected in doctrinaire epistolary novels. The problems of marriage, the rights of women, and the relationship between the sexes were also heatedly discussed, notably in Holcroft's *Anna St. Ives*. For the discussion of these and similar problems the epistolary novel was an excellent vehicle; it allowed the author to advocate a social or political doctrine through the letters of one of his characters without himself accepting responsibility for it.

In certain other types of fiction Professor Black finds the letter form used more sparingly. Surprisingly, he finds relatively few of what he would call novels of manners in letters. Traces of Fanny Burney's influence are found in some works, but Professor Black feels that sentimental distortion prevented the objective intellectual appraisal of society that is the essence of the novel of manners. A number of semi-fictional works in letters and journals deal with out-of-the-way places and travel in foreign lands, but few of them deserve to be considered novels. Historical fiction and the Gothic novel, which grew enormously in popularity from 1780 to 1805, made almost no use of the letter form, largely because writers found the letter ill suited to the chronicling of rapid and exciting action.

The growing popularity of these types of fiction contributed substantially to the decay of the epistolary novel.

Under the heading "Technical Experimentation" Professor Black discusses a number of experiments in the use of the form, most of them motivated by a desire for novelty and variety. In some works, letters, journals, and straight narrative were all used; in others the thread of narrative necessary to tie letters together was supplied in footnotes. Technical crudities and absurdities, such as the use of letters supposedly written in the midst of dramatic action when no normal human being would ever have turned aside to scribble a few lines of letter, appear frequently in the works of mediocre craftsmen. By the end of the century these and other absurdities, as well as the obvious over-sentimentality of many of the epistolary novels, had called forth a number of burlesques of the form. It is not surprising that one of those who burlesqued the abuses of the form was Jane Austen.

Professor Black's study reveals painstaking research and careful judgment. His estimates of the novels he discusses are usually just; he resists consistently the temptation to over-rate them simply because he is an authority on them. Occasionally one may question a judgment. His statement that Richardson's ingenuity in exploring the possibilities for variation within the type he invented left comparatively little for his followers beyond tame imitation, may be questioned on two scores. It is doubtful whether Richardson deserves all credit for having invented the use of letters in fiction. Of this G. F. Singer in *The Epistolary Novel*, after reviewing earlier experiments with fiction in letters, writes, "Samuel Richardson . . . was not to innovate so much as to perfect what was already given him, wherein lies the distinction between the novice and the artist." One may also ask whether the distinctive use made of letters in *Humphrey Clinker* does not go beyond tame imitation.

A very valuable part of Professor Black's work is found in the bibliographies appended to his work. The appendices include an alphabetical list of epistolary fiction, 1740-1840; a chronological list covering the same period; a list of epistolary fiction in verse, 1765-1835; an illustrative list of epistolary fiction in periodicals; and two charts, one indicating the annual output of epistolary novels in comparison with that of all novels from 1740 to 1840, and the second indicating the relative popularity of letter fiction, sentimental fiction, Gothic fiction, and historical fiction between 1745 and 1825. In spite of the fact that definition of these types is often difficult and the classification of them subject to only the writer's judgment, the chart has value in showing certain unmistakable trends. In all, Professor Black's work is a valuable contribution, both critically and bibliographically, to the history of English prose fiction.

EDWARD H. WEATHERLY

University of Missouri

Milton's Literary Milieu. By GEORGE WESLEY WHITING. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. Pp. xii+401. \$3.50.

There are several possible approaches to the subject "opened up" by the title of Doctor Whiting's important book. Thus, one might start with the assumption that Milton is the epitome of his age, discover the essential qualities of Milton and then endeavor to find at large in the age the characteristics found in small in Milton. This is essentially the method used in Louis J. Bredvold, *The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden*. Again, one might start with an attempt in running descriptive, expository, or narrative fashion to set forth the general features of the epoch and then focus this material on Milton. This is the method used in volumes so numerous that it would be difficult to list them all. Neither of these methods has been followed by Whiting. Dividing Milton's works into *Poetry* and *Prose*, he, in a series of chapters in each section, shows how Milton used certain works either first published in the seventeenth century, like Raleigh's *The History of the World*, or older books, such as Diodorus Siculus' *The History*, that apparently had a particular attraction for seventeenth century Englishmen.

Whiting is revolting from the tradition which has held that Milton's "soul was like a star and dwelt apart," and also he is endeavoring to kill the notion, frequently expressed, that Milton got all that he knew on a given subject from a single source.

Yet, Whiting's book—and this is to me its greatest value—is not primarily a study of sources in the ordinary fashion. Some of the works to which he refers in his extensive bibliography have been mentioned in scattered notes before, but all the materials have never been so impressively assembled before, and there is much new material which Whiting has himself turned up, especially in the field of contemporary European literature.

Whiting is studying relations, not sources.

The definite purpose of this volume is to compare certain ideas in Milton's poetry and prose with those in contemporary writing, hexameral, historical, cartographical, psychological, theological, poetical, and controversial. To support the thesis that Milton's work is intimately related to and perhaps in some cases indebted to important contemporary literature is not, of course, to deny the prominence of classical or neo-classical elements in Milton's culture and art. No real student of Milton is likely to underestimate his indebtedness in thought and craftsmanship to Greek, Latin, and Italian literature. This is a well-known influence, stressed, and perhaps over-stressed, in such statements as the following: "Virgil and Tasso guided his hand, and behind them Homer; indeed, the whole of *Paradise Lost* is so full of the spirit of Homer that the poem might be called a Christian . . . Wrath of God for the sin of man . . ." On the other hand, careful comparison reveals the fact that many of Milton's ideas are similar to those in contemporary works, broadly defined, which doubtless form part of his background of fact and fancy.

Limitations of space forbid my following in detail the trails suggested in *Milton's Literary Milieu*. But I do wish to ask the author one question. In chapter six, entitled "A Complexion Inclined to Melancholy," he compares *Paradise Lost* and Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, and seems to imply that melancholy played an unusually large role in Milton's life and work. Isn't he overlooking theories of poetry like that of E. C. Stedman (*The Nature and Elements of Poetry*, 1892) which maintain that melancholy has had a large place in all the major poets in Europe since Dante?

ALLEN R. BENHAM

The White Doe of Rylstone. By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. A Critical Edition by ALICE PATTEE COMPARETTI. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. (Cornell Studies in English, XXIX.) Pp. 311.

That the *White Doe* is one of Wordsworth's more important philosophical poems has been generally acknowledged. The poet himself was the first to acknowledge it: "he considered the *White Doe* as, in conception, the highest work he had ever produced." Although a few philistines, notably Jeffrey, have said defiantly that they do not know what it means, most commentators have found the meaning readily enough and have had difficulty only in putting it into their own words. And although they have sometimes rather uneasily disagreed as to that meaning, all have recognized its significance in the development of the poet's thought toward orthodoxy. It is curious, therefore, that no special study of the poem has been made. Indeed, Mrs. Comparetti is the first to offer a critical edition.

She has been extremely conscientious and thorough. Painstakingly she has collected all information that could conceivably bear upon the poem, and presented it in a long introduction and copious notes. The introduction is an exhaustive study of the poem under five headings: Interpretation and Criticism; Composition and Publication; Traditional and Historical Sources; Literary Sources; Literary Form. As an appendix, she has compiled the critical estimates of the poem, ranging from those of Wordsworth and his contemporaries to those of modern critics. These, by the way, are an amusing and enlightening study in criticism.

The introductory section on Interpretation and Criticism is naturally of the most interest. But he who looks for criticism will be disappointed. Mrs. Comparetti makes no attempt to evaluate the poem, either in its technique as narrative, or in the effectiveness with which it expresses its philosophy. Nor does she to any extent study it in relation to the poet's previous or later philosophical attitude. She is concerned purely with discovering the message of the poem.

Briefly, she sees in Emily the triumph of contemplation. Bereft of all that gives meaning to life, Emily retires from human society, and in solitude "accomplishes a conquest over her sorrows," and eventually achieves tranquillity and a "pure, ethereal spirituality"—not through passive resignation to suffering, as many critics have assumed, but through intense mental and spiritual activity, *i.e.*, through contemplation. Again and again Mrs. Comparetti emphasizes that Emily achieved her victory, "possessed of inner stimulus alone," destitute "of all resources but her own." Now this interpretation is unsatisfactory because it is both vague and incomplete. Precisely what the editor intends to suggest by contemplation is never clear; and the importance and nature of the rôle played by external nature and by the Doe is never discussed. One gathers, because she makes only scattered references to them, that she does not consider that rôle important in any active sense; the Doe is simply a convenient object for contemplation, representing, as she says vaguely in another section, "the influence of religion." As I have suggested, her attitude toward Wordsworth's thought is remarkably uncritical. The *White Doe* has particular interest because it was written in 1807-8, when he was shifting rapidly toward religious mysticism; it was one of the last great poems before he sank into the darkness of complete orthodoxy. Thus it should answer certain questions: How much has his attitude changed since 1805? How completely has he renounced the belief in nature as an active power which was still part of his philosophy then? What is the significance of the *White Doe*? For Mrs. Comparetti these questions do not exist; she considers the poem neither in relation to the great Odes which preceded it, nor in relation to the change in the poet's attitude toward nature. Her attitude toward Wordsworth seems much like that of nineteenth-century commentators; what he believed in his old age he must always have believed. The reader emerges from the section with no clear idea of what the editor takes for granted and what she ignores, of what she considers important, what unimportant. This is, to say the least, a disconcerting introduction to a critical edition.

The sections on sources and the notes suffer from the very thoroughness and conscientiousness which is their most noticeable characteristic. So fearful is the editor that she will omit something important, and so consuming becomes the interest in facts for their own sake that she defeats her purpose, *i.e.*, to explain and clarify the poem; instead it is in constant danger of being forgotten or buried. Indeed, the unsuspecting reader doggedly following on the heels of the editor often finds himself in a wilderness of irrelevancies with the editor gone, the poem out of sight, and only his common sense to help him fight his way back. Under historical sources, for example, surely it was necessary only to reprint the ballad "Rising of the North" and Wordsworth's long note summarizing his source material; and on the basis of these to study his use of the material, his narrative technique. Yet Mrs. Comparetti consigns note and ballad to her own notes where the reader has to grub for them, and plunges

into a history of previous uprisings in Yorkshire, a full study of the causes of the rebellion, a day-by-day calendar of the events of the rebellion and its aftermath—a terrifying tangle of details based generally on sources the poet did not use, and adding to the poet's notes no essential information. Without pause follows an account of the life of each Norton after the rebellion. That the Nortons were not executed (as in the ballad he was following), the poet well knew—to Scott he wrote feelingly, "A plague upon your industrious antiquarians that have put my fine story to confusion"—and the reader must unhappily admire the editor's defiance of the poet's curse. Relentlessly she tracks them down through twenty formidable pages of dates and names—to the last Norton, whether named by Wordsworth or not. The breathless reader struggles from this jungle to be confronted by a rambling and uncritical comparison of the poem mainly with the editor's own historical survey. The comparison is frequently merely a solemn listing of all the events and details the poet had no use for. For example, "The reader . . . never will suspect from the poetic account that the Earls were ready to rise late in September, or that it was November ninth when the Earl of Northumberland was alarmed from his sleep at Topcliffe, and November tenth . . ." and so on for over a page. This kind of comparison becomes occasionally an irritating device for the insertion of material that would fit nowhere else. Thus we are told, "In order to fix attention on the unity of one family, the division of many another family had to be passed over in silence"—and we are given a list of such families! All this simply sets the reader's head spinning in confusion; it is with some awe that he remembers that the poem is the spring-board for it.

Under literary sources, the editor discusses the symbolic treatment of the Deer in literature, the indebtedness to the *Faerie Queene*, and the interesting similarity between Wordsworth's thought, and that of seventeenth-century religious poets. Here again the discussion is too detailed and inconclusive and marred by digressions into, for example, the extent of the poet's acquaintance with the allegory of the *Faerie Queene*.

In conclusion, it is difficult to see that Mrs. Comparetti has added to our knowledge or appreciation of the poem. A great amount of potentially valuable material has been assembled, together with much that is worthless; all is tossed in indiscriminately just as it was uncovered in the course of investigation—it is not unfair to say that the edition represents the research itself, not the results of research. Before it is usable, there is need of rigorous sifting, rejection, and rearrangement; there is need of clear, orderly, concise presentation, with the relation of the subject matter to the poem constantly kept in mind; there is need in particular of critical evaluation. In fact, the edition as much as the poem is in need of critical editing.

EDWARD E. BOSTETTER

University of Washington

Selected Letters of Edwin Arlington Robinson. Edited by RIDGELY TORRENCE. New York: Macmillan, 1940. Pp. x+191. \$2.50.

Philosophy in the Poetry of Edwin Arlington Robinson. By ESTELLE KAPLAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. 162. \$2.25.

"There is no 'philosophy' in my poetry," wrote Robinson in 1930, replying to an inquiry from a thesis-writer, "beyond an implication of an ordered universe and a sort of deterministic negation of the general futility that appears to be the basis of 'rational' thought. . . . Those who do me the great honor of reading my books must excuse me from trying to interpret them—an occupation in which I should probably fail."

Though the letters hold quite scrupulously to this reticence about the books, they make another book of importance. In telling us much about the man they tell us much about the poet, for the two were peculiarly of a piece; but what they tell us is an addition in kind rather than a fresh revelation. Robinson evidently succeeded in writing himself quite directly into his poetry, and his colors in the letters are what they are in the verse, "blacks and grays and browns and blues for the most part," but also, he hopes, "with a trick of letting the white come through in places." His attitude toward himself is playfully sardonic, toward his fellow mortals kind but ironic, toward destiny grim. But he will not admit himself a pessimist. Though the whole western world is going to be "blown to pieces, asphyxiated, and starved," he insists that when you "call me an evangelist of ruin . . . you musn't forget the redemption—even if you don't see it." (With those who fail to see his redemption, his "light," he has almost as little patience as with those who find him difficult: he is pessimistic and obscure only to the superficial and the lazy, who will not or can not read one word after another and recognize that his real purpose is "to cheer people up and incidentally to indicate the futility of materialism as a thing to live by.")

In spite of Robinson's warning that poetry is "a matter of feeling, not of cerebration," his notoriously complex cerebration fully justifies Miss Kaplan's study of his philosophy. Though one may question whether the "Philosophical Analyses" of the poems which make the bulk of her book are always as revealing as the poems themselves, the same can be said of the paraphrastic treatment of any good poem. Miss Kaplan's study is definitely valuable in identifying Robinson's major themes and their symbols in the order of their succession and in establishing and illustrating their evolution. She distinguishes roughly four stages in the poet's philosophical development: (1) the poems concerned with the tragedy of "light," reflecting his transcendental skepticism with its emphasis on light in darkness, as in *Captain Craig* and *The Man Against the Sky*;

(2) the poems dealing with the tragedy of love in conflict with duty, *Merlin*, *Lancelot*, and *Tristram*; (3) the poems concerned with the tragedy of marriage, from *Cavender's House to Talifer*; (4) the social poems, notably *Demos and Dionysus*, *Dionysus in Doubt*, and *King Jasper*. She also identifies the parallel symbols: shadows, castles, houses, chimneys. The orderliness and thoroughness of her treatment emphasize the variety and coherence of Robinson's mind and work.

Both books are important contributions to our knowledge of this great contemporary poet.

JOSEPH B. HARRISON

University of Washington

The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving. By HENRY BOSLEY WOOLFF. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1939. Pp. xii+299. \$4.00.

This is a valuable book. There is, of course, no lack of studies of Germanic name-giving—Mr. Woolff records something like forty in his bibliography, but they are scattered, usually limited in scope, and never give the full lists of extant names. Mr. Woolff, therefore, if he has not solved the problems, may fairly claim to have made the task of future researchers immensely more easy.

It is as a kind of *Grundriss* that the book will prove most useful. In a brief introduction Mr. Woolff sets out his plan. He will deal in successive chapters with the name-material of the various Germanic kingdoms, nineteen in all, the names recorded of non-royal personages in England, and the names in Old English poetry. Each chapter follows a clear-cut, if rather mechanical scheme: a brief historical introduction, then the names, arranged so far as possible in genealogies, and "following the genealogy—the core of each chapter—a discussion of the practice of alliteration, variation, and repetition; comments on the proportion of uncompounded and compound names; remarks on the naming of women; and observations on other aspects of naming that may arise from the particular genealogy under discussion." There is, finally, a "Conclusion" (pp. 246-264) in which the author pulls the many and various threads together, and a good bibliography (pp. 265-271).

There is nothing at all new, either in the final chapter or in those that deal with details. Germanic name-giving, so far as it can be traced, and that means to some indefinite period before the Christian era, rested on alliteration, variation, and stress. Mr. Woolff accepts the orthodox view that alliteration of names sprang out of the exigencies of heroic verse; is not, therefore, much younger than the Germanic shift of stress to initial syllables; he holds, and I think

rightly, that theme-variation is later than alliteration, though certainly the one must have fostered the other, and that repetition is fairly late. One is struck by the immense variation, in the tribal conglomerates, in the application of these three fundamental principles, and the impossibility of drawing sweeping generalizations. For one thing, the data, though numerous enough if we take them all together, are relatively scant, and it is clear that fashion and conventions of all sorts played their part. Names were chosen in the light of these fashions, as fashion still governs the names we give our children; though our forefathers, as Mr. Woolff makes clear, exercised a nice discrimination. A solid and homogeneous culture made impossible the extravagances of present-day America, and a blessed illiteracy prevented fond parents and fonder daughters from perpetrating the fourth and fifth century equivalents of "Alyce" and "Delores." But Mr. Woolff quotes with approval the characteristically wise remark of Henry Bradley on the onomastic practices of the Goths. He contemptuously dismissed the romantic notion that Germanic names in historic times expressed any particular meaning. "Certainly the name Frederic is formed of a word meaning 'peace' and a word meaning 'ruler.' But the true explanation is that *Fred-* was one of the number of [words] which it was customary to use as beginnings of names, and *-ric* was one of the words which it was customary to use as endings. Any word belonging to the one list might be joined to any word in the other list, even if the two were quite contradictory in sense. There are, for instance, ancient German names, which, if translated literally, would be 'peace-spear' and 'peace-war.'" As to the repetition of names in alternate generations, a common practice, though far from general, Mr. Woolff admits cautiously that it may have originated in a belief in the transmigration of souls, but he finds small evidence of this; and following Flom, he points out the obvious fact that "the repetition of the first theme in alternate generations and the repetition of the second theme in the same alternate generations led to the repetition of the identical name in alternate generations." This is common sense; and so is the author's conclusion that the spindle side of the family had small influence in the naming of offspring, whether male or female. I am still not convinced, however, that the requirement of alliteration was as stringent in the case of women as of men. But here, as so often, the data are too slight to admit of a definitive conclusion.

Mr. Woolff's study is the expansion and revision of a doctoral dissertation submitted at the Johns Hopkins University in 1936. In congratulating the author on a solid and useful piece of work, it is permissible, I hope, to congratulate the University and the University press from which it issues. The book is dedicated most appropriately to Professor Kemp Malone, whose own studies in this field have blazed so many a trail.

MARTIN B. RUUD

The University of Minnesota

Letters of Ludwig Tieck, Hitherto Unpublished, 1792-1853. Collected and edited by EDWIN H. ZEYDEL, PERCY MATENKO, and ROBERT HERNDON FIFE, with the cooperation of the Department of Germanic Languages, Columbia University. New York: Modern Language Association of America; London: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xxxi+604. 23/net.

American scholarship has contributed much to our knowledge of Ludwig Tieck, and research in that continent enjoys high reputation here and abroad. No one in the United States is more fitted to write on Ludwig Tieck and the Romantics than E. H. Zeydel (cf. also *Dichtung und Volkstum*, 1938, p. 253), and Tieck scholars will ever owe him deep gratitude. The present volume was edited by E. H. Zeydel in combination with such well-known writers as P. Matenko and R. H. Fife. It is divided into five parts covering the years 1792-1802 (Romantic Storm and Stress), 1802-1819 (Life in Ziebingen and abroad), 1819-1829 (The early years in Dresden), 1830-1842 (The later years in Dresden), 1842-1853 (Last years in Berlin). This edition of Tieck's letters has been urgently awaited for some time and hence fills an important gap in Tieck research. It is true that the letters to Tieck were published by K. v. Holtei (cf. also E. H. Zeydel, *MLN*, November, 1928, p. 463), his correspondence with Goethe by O. Walzel, that with Wackenroder by F. v. d. Leyen, and that with Brockhaus and the Schlegels by H. Lüdeke v. Möllendorff; then E. H. Zeydel and P. Matenko published those letters to F. v. Raumer which had been omitted from Tieck's own edition whilst finally P. Matenko introduced the world to Tieck's correspondence with Solger.

Zeydel, Matenko, and Fife give us the letters that had yet remained unpublished, the material having been culled from Dresden, Berlin and the private collection of Zeydel in Cincinnati.

The book in question is written with great objectivity and is free of adulation of the poet; on the other hand, the editors have shown true appreciation and have done justice to L. Tieck's integrity as critic (cf. p. 149 and p. 236). In the chapters that introduce each section and letter, Zeydel and his co-editors have given a resume of the most significant points in the texts which follow. They present important material of a biographical and literary nature, e.g., p. 547, 38 (T. and Cotta), 47 (T.-the Reimers), 109 (V. d. Hagen), 159 (T.'s brother Friedrich), 220 (Winkler), 315 (J. Max), 438, etc. (T. and younger authors).

These introductions give a lucid and pregnant picture of the life and social surroundings of L. Tieck and of the characters of his contemporaries. Through most careful division and arrangement of material, through its variety which includes fascinating literary documents, business letters and exchange of ideas between L. Tieck and his scholar friends and publishers, etc., the book, in spite of its

bulk, is attractive and very readable, and should appeal also to wider literary circles.

This excellent volume contains 487 letters, 467 being by L. Tieck's own hand, twenty from his wife and daughters, and others. With its publication we can say that all really important matter regarding L. Tieck has now seen the light of day, and through E. H. Zeydel and his co-editors the charm of the Romantic period is once more conjured up before our eyes.

AUGUST CLOSS

University of Bristol, England

Modern German Literature 1880-1938. By JETHRO BITHELL. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1939. Pp. ix+535. 21 shillings.

Because Bithell's account of Nazi literature proved to be too bulky for the second edition of his *Germany: A Companion to German Studies*, it was decided to "expand the essay on German literature after 1880 in the first edition to form a separate volume which should deal comprehensively and critically with the whole mass of the literature concerned" (p. v). The starting point, Nazi literature, accounts for the many allusions to Nazi ideology and, although Bithell strives "to do justice to all my authors, whether boomed or banned," one cannot escape the impression that he would rather boom those banned. (Notable exceptions are Carossa and R. Huch.) Even the lingering fondness for the word "appeasement," rarely found in literary criticism, betrays characteristic concessions to the ephemeral.

In so comprehensive a work it is inevitable, perhaps, that it should in the main skim the surface and fail to discuss deeper problems of interpretation. Yet Mahrholz of similar aim and scope, Bertaux and Naumann of much smaller compass, and even the pocket-size Stammler and the rather uneven Eloesser, to mention only a few of the familiar books on this subject, make more attempt to analyze the philosophical and sociological background of the times and to make clear the enduring values of the passing literary movements and men. In reading Bithell the disquieting feeling persists that the fascinating pieces of a jig-saw puzzle are presented but not put together to reveal the whole picture. Many tiresome stretches of this work become little more than a catalogue of authors, titles, and styles, padded by over-long résumés, though the end of the book progresses toward briefer synopses and more evaluation. The most exhaustive interpretations, which constitute about one-fifth of the entire work, are those on the poets: George, Rilke, and von Hofmannsthal. Apparently the analysis of the poet's craft lies closest to this critic's heart. Bithell's style, more in the vein of the informal

lecturer, is generally lucid, often witty, sometimes brilliant, but on occasion it lapses into flippancy, punning, and actual slang, or it becomes mannered and affected, with here and there a glaring Germanic inversion. Most puzzling is the relentless barrage of foreign words.

The organization of material is not always transparent. Since, in a work of this kind, subjects actually parallel have to be taken in succession, there will always be some embarrassment in determining the order of arrangement. It may be unwarranted, therefore, to criticize Bithell for widely separating closely related subjects. But one questions why Bithell should include, in the chapter on neo-classicism, Eulenberg, whom he identifies with the "cult of sensation" (p. 300), and Stucken, whose dramas he finds "rather completely romantic than neo-romantic" (p. 303), and why in the discussion on naturalism there is no mention (not even a cross-reference) of Clara Viebig, who "is not so much a feminist as a naturalist" (p. 360). Carossa appears between L. Frank and Döblin in the "Novel of Expressionism." Werfel's poems and novels are discussed in the "Drama of Expressionism" and the phase, commonly called "die neue Sachlichkeit," receives only cursory treatment at the close of the chapters on expressionism. To discuss the entire literary output of a writer as a single unit under an accurate chapter heading is legitimate, but it is disconcerting to find cribbed and confined among "The Dramatists of Naturalism" the immense product of Hauptmann. It is bewildering to examine the works of Max Halbe and Carl Hauptmann long after the merciless dissection of *Im Wirbel der Berufung* and *Hamlet in Wittenberg* and to read: "To Hauptmann's school belong the plays of his brother, Carl Hauptmann" (p. 56), and "Three dramatists, Georg Hirschfeld,¹ Max Dreyer, and Ernst Rosmer,¹ scored notable successes as disciples (to begin with at least) of Gerhart Hauptmann" (p. 57). The footnote (¹) contains the single word "Jewish"—yet nothing in the context offers the slightest explanation.

Bithell seldom allows himself to be swept away by enthusiasm for his subject and a work like *Der Büttnerbauer* of Polenz or *Jetten Gebert* of Georg Hermann may receive more distinct appreciation than most major works of the so-called giants. Unusually warm in his praise of Thomas Mann, he gives him "a secure seat with the immortals who have struck out into new paths in literature" but he adds "very dubious is the use of leit-motifs . . . This not only tends to bore if not irritate the reader, it limits the characters" (p. 346). To admire Mann's writings, so closely knit that scarcely a sentence or word could be changed without destroying the whole fabric, and yet be bored by the leit-motif seems tantamount to admiring Gothic architecture but finding the flying buttresses irritating. One may admire or detest it, but is it possible to worship Wagnerian music and at the same time dislike the ever-recurrent musical phrases?

Readers may find it refreshing to have Bithell conspicuously ignore the compassionate and suffering Hauptmann of the facile sympathies, but more conventional critics may find some distortion in the pathological Hauptmann of the obsessional themes (senile eroticism, nymphomania, masochism, sadism, demonism, religious mania, etc.) whom Bithell stresses. Similarly, some readers may feel, Bithell inclines to caricature by high-lighting the narcissistic poseur in Stefan George, the over-sexed hysteric in Dehmel, the orgiastic purveyor of filth in Heinrich Mann, by allowing Nietzschean perversions of self-indulgent godchildren to obscure the portrait of Nietzsche.

Too often clarity and sharp focus are sacrificed to over-abundant detail. Too often disproportionate weight is given to lengthy résumés of the literary attempts of the Hart brothers, Bleibtreu, H. H. Ewers, Meyrink, Beer-Hofmann, Vollmoeller, Hardt, Stucken, *et al.*, while major works or significant aspects of major works are brushed aside hastily. Though Bithell characterizes Mann's *Der Zauberberg* as "perhaps the most deeply planned novel since *Wilhelm Meister*" (p. 348), he gives to it much less consideration (37 lines) than to Handel-Mazzetti's *Die arme Margret* (60 lines). Particularly inadequate are the purported exegeses of Hauptmann's important works. One sentence disposes of *Michael Kramer*: "In *Michael Kramer* (as in *Das Friedensfest*) there is the conflict between son and father so dear to the expressionists" (p. 35). This might be justifiable terseness, did it not contrast so glaringly with page-long synopses of Hauptmann's less successful creations or of works like Bierbaum's *Stilpe*.

In the bibliography there appears only one German heading: *Motivgeschichte*. This suggests Bithell's keen interest in tracking down motifs, of which there is more than ample evidence in the text. The index, which is a concordance as well as an index of names (titles are not included), reveals the same interest. Almost as long as the analysis of the plays *Einsame Menschen* and *Die Weber* are two heavy footnotes on each, tracing the motif of the triangular marriage and the weaver theme in German literature. Midway in the first footnote stands this remarkable juxtaposition: "In Goethe's *Stella* (first version) and Maeterlinck's (!) *Aglavaine et Selysette* the two women agree to share the husband" (p. 33). Works are classified according to dozens of different motifs and literary categories, including the "l'homme incompris" and "femme incomprise" motifs, the "Erlösungsdramen," and the "Kellnerinnen-romane."

The reviewer found few errors: p. 320: *Friderich* for *Friedrich* (p. 375), *beschehen* for *geschehen* (p. 124); *Kellnerin* not in italics; pp. 4 and 20 the spelling "Dostoeffsky" but on pp. 333 and 435 *Dostojewsky*; in the bibliography: E. K. Bennett's *History of the German Novelle* under the heading "The Novel" (p. 304); re-

ferring to Stucken's novel *Die weißen Götter*: "There is dovetailing with Gerhart Hauptmann's play of the same name . . . As in Gerhart Hauptmann's *Die weißen Götter* the coincidences of Mes-sianic and Aztec legend are brought out." But on page 39, the foot-note to Hauptmann's play declares: "The source is more or less Eduard Stucken's novel *Der weiße Heiland*" (p. 304)!

A. M. SAUERLANDER

The University of Buffalo

Das Reich in der deutschen Dichtung unserer Zeit. Von ARNO MULOT. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1940. Pp. 96. RM 3.40.

The present treatise examines the works of contemporary German authors who have dealt with the *Reich* idea. Historically, the concept of the Reich, in one form or another, has been represented in German literature since the time of Herzog Ernst—except during the periods of Naturalism and Expressionism (p. 10). Cited as approaching the new *Reichsbild* are: Stefan George, who died at an opportune time (p. 23); Ernst Bertram, who is generally over-rated in this connection (p. 25); Gertrud von Le Fort, who envisaged a church-dominated Reich (p. 27); Ludwig F. Barthel, who is too much in the past (p. 31); then Wilhelm Schäfer and Hans Schwarz, both of whom eventually win Mulot's approval.

It would be of primary interest to have the ideal *Reichsbild* clearly delineated. It is simply accepted as something very real and potent. Some of its facets are revealed in the presentation of the many works discussed. These works are introduced chronologically according to the era of their heroes, proceeding from Arminius to Hitler. Mulot's opinions of his fellow Third Reichers are significant, since these opinions may indicate which way professional attitudes are inclining. Mulot is as ardently anti-Rehberg as anti-George. Hans Rehberg, with his widely acclaimed Prussian dramas, is relegated to the ignominious period of Expressionism; "Preußen . . . verdankt ihm nichts" (p. 71). Mirko Jelusich and Kurt Eggers are accused of injecting modern thought into the past (p. 58). Popular Werner Beumelberg is seen writing with determination rather than with talent (p. 45). Curt Langenbeck is charged with describing characters instead of forming them (p. 49). Paul Ernst (though at times "schroff und eckig" [p. 41]), Kolbenheyer, Bruno Brehm, and Robert Hohlbaum are among those praised. Peculiarly enough, the several books discussed in connection with the Third Reich are all collections of verse. Here, Heinrich Anacker, Herbert Böhme, and Gerhard Schumann are commended; Johannes Linke

is not vibrant enough with the battle (p. 90). The monograph presents a timely survey which has been carried out with acumen.

Since the publication of his studies on *Das Bauerntum* (1937), *Der Soldat* (1938), and *Der Arbeiter* (1938) in modern German literature, Mulot has been advanced to a professorship at the Teachers Training Institute in Darmstadt.

EDMUND E. MILLER

University of Maryland

Six Scandinavian Novelists. By ALRIK GUSTAFSON. Published for the American-Scandinavian Foundation by The Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. 367. \$3.50.

On the Scandinavian drama and dramatists extensive commentary exists in the major languages. Though a number of studies on certain Scandinavian novelists are available in English, there is no solid work on this important literary field. In *Six Scandinavian Novelists* Professor Alrik Gustafson has made the first contribution to that needed work for American readers.

Professor Gustafson prefaces the six essays, which make up the body of his book, with a rather full introductory chapter, in which he sets forth the relationship of the Scandinavian novel to the world novel. Further, he clears away some of the misleading ideas about the Scandinavian novel that have arisen in American and English criticism. More important still, the author accounts for the forces that produced the Scandinavian novel of the last fifty years, giving special attention to Georg Brandes and his relation to the whole movement of modern thought in Scandinavia. Finally, the author accounts for his choice of novelists and explains his treatment of them.

The six novelists, Jonas Lie, Jens Peter Jacobsen, Verner von Heidenstam, Selma Lagerlöf, Knut Hamsun and Sigrid Undset, are considered from the point of view that the "purely literary qualities" are, in the last analysis, the deciding factors in establishing the true greatness of a writer and his work. Professor Gustafson's discussion centers, therefore, upon the value of each novel as a work of art; the novel as a vehicle for social criticism becomes of secondary importance and very often only incidental. Professor Gustafson's method of analysis, namely, a detailed study of a single novel, or, at the most, a few novels of each author, is very successful. His work thus achieves solidity, and escapes being merely an annotation of titles.

In order to clarify such problems as an author's preoccupation with a particular subject and his attitude toward the stuff out of which his novels were made, Professor Gustafson has discussed each novelist's philosophy and the manner in which he arrived at it.

To attempt to unravel the social attitudes of six writers (two of them still alive) who were products of a changing, restless, controversial period, is extremely difficult, especially since the author is not committed to "any particular point of view" or "any special canon of critical dogma." This task will appear the more difficult when we remember that critical controversy has not yet been replaced by the solid ally of the literary historian, scholarship. Professor Gustafson has retained an "objective view" throughout, but better success might have been attained on occasion had he followed some "guiding principle or theory."

We call attention to the treatment of three matters, in as many of the essays, that could have been more fully discussed. In the essay on Heidenstam (p. 169 ff) we are told that that portion of his poetry in which he gave his real message to the Swedish nation, has become increasingly important to the Swedish people since the War. A short explanation of the social evolution that has taken place in Sweden since the War, which in turn has made Heidenstam's poetry acceptable to the whole Swedish nation, would seem to have been not only necessary but interesting and informative as well.

The discussion of Selma Lagerlöf's *The Miracles of Anti-Christ* is not quite clear. The author states that this novel

is a partially symbolical treatment of a contemporary social and political phenomenon; but the problem itself is handled in a rather unsatisfactory manner . . . Selma Lagerlöf, it must be admitted, had little ability in writing a "problem novel," though *The Miracles of Anti-Christ* must always stand as evidence of her profound sympathy with the condition of the lower classes and her deep interest in modern social problems (p. 215).

To admit that *The Miracles of Anti-Christ* is a failure as a "problem novel" makes it very difficult to accept the further conclusion that it "must always stand as evidence of her profound sympathy with the condition of the lower classes and her deep interest in modern social problems." One interpretation of *The Miracles of Anti-Christ* is that it fails as a problem novel, for in it Selma Lagerlöf undertook to criticise Socialism, which she did not understand. The other, and more defensible view is that she did understand Socialism, that she did not criticise it, and that as a "problem novel" *The Miracles of Anti-Christ* is a success. We admit the "profound sympathy" and the "deep interest" that Professor Gustafson claims for the novel, and add that it shows a thorough understanding of modern social problems as well. The novel, furthermore, is far more important to an understanding of Selma Lagerlöf's underlying philosophy, Christian Socialism, and of her art than the author allows in his treatment of it.

Professor Gustafson's primary purpose is to treat Hamsun as an artist and not as a social critic. But to understand Hamsun as a literary artist, his social philosophy must be investigated. Accordingly, Professor Gustafson makes it part of his treatment of him as a novelist, but it is incomplete. Numerous instances of Hamsun's attacks on "certain abuses" in society, feminism, demo-

cratic bureaucracy, stupid pedantry, and the like, are enumerated by Professor Gustafson, and he rightfully concludes that these attacks are "too often directed at obvious, and possibly not characteristic targets . . .," and that these attacks are usually launched through minor characters. We cannot agree, however, in attributing Hamsun's attacks to "the incidental satiric superfluities thrown off by a somewhat over-rich creative fertility." The discussion of *Growth of the Soil* terminates with this sentence:

And it should not be forgotten that this novel is but the most clear-cut illustration that can be cited to suggest the vein of a positive social doctrine that appears as one of the most constantly recurring themes in Hamsun's novels (p. 284).

Hamsun's social philosophy is treated by Professor Gustafson as a belief on the part of Hamsun that the machine has been morally detrimental to modern man and, to survive, man must seek a necessary balance between himself and the soil. This is true enough, but it sets forth only a part of Hamsun's philosophy.

The germ of Hamsun's philosophy can be traced back to his first novel, *Hunger*, and a steady and consistent progression in his philosophy is apparent from that book on. We agree with Professor Gustafson that Hamsun's social philosophy never has had and probably never will have any validity (though he did attract an inordinate amount of attention with it), and that in spite of it Hamsun remains a magnificent teller of tales and a first-rate literary artist. To have stated Hamsun's philosophy fully would simply have had for its purpose to establish what the vein of his "positive social doctrine" is. With that determined, we would also have an explanation for the force that has given such consistent direction to Hamsun's anti-democratic social criticism.

Though Professor Gustafson aims at a "general, cultured English-speaking reading public," some of the customary scholarly apparatus would have made the book more useful to the large number of students who will undoubtedly want to consult it.

Professor Gustafson shows a broad knowledge of modern scholarship and literary criticism, evidences a wide range of reading in modern world literature and reveals a fine, sensitive, critical appreciation of literature as an art. He brings into the open many problems that have been centers of controversy in Scandinavian criticism and resolves them with cogent reasoning. Professor Gustafson everywhere retains a refreshing independence of opinion.

In limiting his present volume to six Scandinavian novelists, Professor Gustafson was compelled to omit many another writer who was rightfully pressing for inclusion. He mentions Alexander Kielland, Arne Garborg, Henrik Pontoppidan, Johannes V. Jensen, Martin Andersen Nexø, and Olav Duun. If *Six Scandinavian Novelists* enjoys only a part of the attention it deserves, Professor Gustafson should be amply encouraged to continue the present volume in *Six Scandinavian Novelists, Second Series*.

SVERRE ARESTAD

University of Washington

The Influence of Dante and Petrarch on Certain of Boccaccio's Lyrics. By GORDON RUTLEDGE SILBER. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Co., 1940. Pp. 162.

The study is limited to 63 authentic lyrics divided into two groups (pages 13-14), the one group datable, the other undatable, for which Mr. Silber has sought (Chapter III) parallels in those works of Dante and of Petrarch known to Boccaccio as proved by the evidence collected in Chapter II. These data, tabulated in the case of Dante on pages 137-140, enabled Mr. Silber not only to conclude that "Dante's work actively influenced Boccaccio during his entire lyric production" (page 141) but also to evaluate at least approximately the extent of the influence of the master's various works, and to show that although impossible "to determine at what periods of his lyric production Boccaccio was most influenced by one or another of the works of Dante . . . [his] tendency to draw on Dante for his phraseology seems to have increased progressively from the period of 1336-1339 at least to the period of the ballate of the *Decameron* . . ." (page 143).

However, in the case of Petrarch, the data prove, Mr. Silber concluded, that the influence of Petrarch on the lyrics of Boccaccio was "minor in extent" (only in four of the sixty-three lyrics can his influence be identified as certain) "and late in beginning," which "tended to confirm the view that Boccaccio did not become acquainted with Petrarch's works until 1348 or after" (page 148). Are these conclusions sound? The fact that the investigation did not include all the lyrics attributed to Boccaccio, but was limited to the sixty-three authentic ones—thus avoiding any questionable data—tends to make the reader accept them as such, but a close examination of his data seems, however, to turn the balance on the other side. In my opinion Mr. Silber has not succeeded in ascertaining, in spite of the critical tests he applied to them, that the parallelisms between Boccaccio and Dante and Petrarch he so carefully collected show, beyond all doubt, that the influence was strictly Dante's or Petrarch's and no one else's. Let us consider briefly some of his data tabulated under "Group A—Datable Poems" on pages 137-140. The second column, "cases of verbal reminiscence so close or unique as to be undoubted imitations of Dante by Boccaccio" (page 137) shows listed:

Filoloco, 1-2: { *Purgatorio* 27, 106
 { *Rime dubbie* 3, 5

His data on page 61, read as follows: "The phraseology of *Filoloco* verses 1-2 recalls a verse of Lia's description of Rachel, *Elfè de' suoi belli occhi veder vaga* (*Purg.* 27, 106), the following verse pos-

sibly by Dante, *Un lume de belli occhi ond'io son vago* (*Rime dubie* 3, 5), and Cino's

Io son sì vago della bella luce
De li occhi traditor . . .
(186, 1-2)

This reference to Cino weakens Mr. Silber's claim that Boccaccio imitated Dante.

In the first column "cases in which we conclude that whole passages in Boccaccio (or, in several cases, the main idea or the setting or atmosphere of a lyric taken as a whole) or Boccaccio's use of a given idea or theme, were influenced by Dante" (page 137) we find listed under:

- (1) Decameron IV { *Vita Nuova* 23, 9-11
verses 31-57: { *Rime* 20, 3 [*V. N.* 23]
 { *Rime* 27, 10-17 [*V. N.* 33]

On page 79, we read:

"The general theme of the poet's desire for death, which is developed in the last three stanzas of the ballata, occurs in Dante (*V. N.* 23, 9 and 11; *Rime* 30, 3 [*V. N.* 23], *Rime* 27, 10-17 [*V. N.* 33], is very common in the other poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*, and is used by Petrarch. . . ." (Italics are mine.) If so common, why conclude that Boccaccio was influenced by Dante rather than by the other poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*?

- (2) XXXV, 14: *R* 83, 4-6

His material on pages 42-43 reads:

"No other case has been found in which the poet's heart is said to become a river of tears, as in verse 14. As noted in the study of XXXVII, however, the weeping of the heart is mentioned in Dante (*Rime* 83, 416) and Petrarch . . . but Boccaccio's use of the figure may well be an imitation of Virgil's *largoque umectat flumine vultum* (*Aen.* 1, 465)." If so, why not attribute this influence to Virgil rather than Dante?

- (3) CXXXa, 9-11 { *R* 87, 20-24
 { *R* 14, 51-54 [*V. N.* 19]

On pages 50-51, the data read:

"Verses 9-11, in which Love is said to make in his lady's eyes the arrows that constantly pass into the poet's heart, are closely paralleled, though without specific mention of arrows, in the following passage in Dante [See quotation on page 51] *Rime* 87, 20-24. "A similar theme, in which *Spirti* rather than arrows wound the poet, occurs in the *Vita nuova*." (See quotation, *Rime* 14, 51-54 [*V. N.* 19] on page 51.)

Then Mr. Silber continues:

- (a) "Cavalcanti uses a figure close to Boccaccio's at least twice." (See quotations [34, 1-2] and [35, 9-11] on page 51.)
- (b) "Cino, without specifying that Love is in the lady's eyes, speaks of him as tempering his arrow with *piacere* and then mortally wounding his heart" (See quotation [82, 1-8] on page 51). These last three references surely weaken the claim of Dante's influence on Boccaccio.

On page 28, note 4, of his study Mr. Silber states:

In the studies which follow, minor parallels which are obviously of no significance (such as common noun-adjective combinations and similar combinations of rhyme-words) have generally been relegated to the footnotes.

and on pages 63-64:

As has been pointed out earlier, no importance can be attached to parallels between Boccaccio and Petrarch which consist simply of similar or identical combinations of noun and adjective, as here.

Yet this same principle does not seem to apply to Dante, since under column II of the tabulated data referred to we find listed several such cases. The following will suffice to illustrate this point.

Mr. Silber states:

- (1) In his description of the twelve ladies Boccaccio says that they were *con gentili aspetti* (Amorosa Visione III, verse 18); Dante similarly speaks of a friend of Beatrice as *Una donna giovane e di gentile aspetto molto* (V. N. 8, 1), page 66.
- (2) The phrase *alto disio* (Decameron V, Ballata) verse 17, occurs also three times in the *Divina Comedia* (Purg. 24, 111; Par. 22, 61; Par. 30, 70), page 82.

Finally the fact that Mr. Silber applies to cases listed in the table as "undoubted" imitations of Dante by Boccaccio such phrases as "Boccaccio *may well have* had in mind . . ."—page 59; "*may be* a reminiscence of Dante . . ." page 67; "*appears to be* a reminiscence of the opening verse of a ballata of Dante . . ."—page 79 (italics are mine) show that he really cannot be certain that they are actually as undoubted as he claims.

In view of all this, and because the data collected from Petrarch's work is, indeed, too limited to prove much, it seems to me that Mr. Silber's conclusions are weak and that the problem he proposed to solve still remains a question—one for which, it is hoped, Mr. Silber through further investigation, may some day find the true solution.

CHARLES GOGGIO

University of Washington

Denis Diderot. L'Homme. Ses idées philosophiques, esthétiques et littéraires. By H. GILLOT. Avec une Lettre-Preface de M. ERNEST SEILLIERE. Paris: Librairie Georges Courville, 1937. Pp. 336.

Diderot. L'Artiste et le philosophe. By JEAN LUC. Paris: Editions Sociales Internationales, 1938. Pp. 182. Textes choisis, 141 pp.

If variety is an attribute of richness, then the profusion of interpretations, to which the works of Diderot have recently given rise, prove that he is one of the richest and most provocative of eighteenth century philosophers.

Professor Gillot's work is both pious and patriotic, being dedicated to his fellow citizens of Langres and to the memory of Canon Marcel, well known for his monographs on certain details of Diderot's life. The divisions of the study indicate the author's preoccupations. Roughly a fifth of the book is devoted to Diderot as a philosopher. Professor Gillot wishes to avoid the "polemical"; he leaves to Baron Seillière the condemnation that Diderot was no "empiriste" but a M. Homais of the eighteenth century.

The remaining pages deal with Diderot's theories and opinions on esthetics and literature, only a meagre portion being devoted to his dramatic reforms. In spite of a very disconcerting habit of paraphrasing Diderot with snatches of sentences and expressions which leave the reader in confusion as to their source, Professor Gillot has culled with painstaking care Diderot's dicta on arts and letters. These chapters are the most important and bulky, giving Diderot's impressions and appreciations of contemporary and earlier artists, poets, dramatists, and philosophers. The catalogue is impressive and exhaustive. One might wish for a more critical synthesis of the material, which is presented often with slight regard for the chronology of Diderot's evolving views on these subjects: when Diderot was invited by Grimm to review the Salons he was anything but prepared for the undertaking; it was through a slow initiation and self-education that he acquired confidence and self-assurance. The interrelation between his literary theories, his artistic appreciations, his views on the favorable conditions of poetry and genius on one hand, and the elaboration of his philosophy of the universe merited a more attentive study.

What impresses above all in Professor Gillot's quotations from Diderot's writings is the catholicity of his taste, his all-embracing receptivity, his intuitive understanding not only of the intentions of artists and their technical difficulties but also his ability to translate, to transpose their inner worlds, their "soleil intérieur." No better answer could be made to Brunière's disparagement of Diderot's importance as a critic of art than this summary of his admirations. In spite of what we should consider today as aberrations in his judg-

ment of contemporaries—excessive admiration of Greuze (well explained by Professor Gillot as a protest against the mythological and allegorical schools), his failure to understand Watteau—one cannot help but recognize that temperamentally Diderot was in many ways an ideal interpreter of the world of art.

Leftist thinkers, including M. Luc, appear to be less interested in the matters than in the modality of the action of eighteenth century thought.¹ They are more attentive to the diffusion of ideas than to their origin and originality, historical or psychological, their pre-cursive importance rather than their human significance, their social acceptance rather than their artistic richness. "Nous cherchons," says M. Luc, "dans une œuvre ou un ensemble d'œuvres, l'expression, plus ou moins consciente, des conflits sociaux" (p. 13).

However, it must be admitted that it is difficult, if not impossible to systematize the scattered statements by Diderot on political questions into any rigorously defined theory, even anticipatory. Among the many striking features of Diderot's writings, the relative absence of preoccupations with the immediate problems of government is one of the most noteworthy. Apart from his *Principes de politique des souverains* published for the first time in 1776 by Métra in his *Correspondence secrète* and, consequently, without appreciable influence on the evolution of political thought in France, there is very little to point to in his works on this subject.² He was no anarchist and his "sens de classe" referred to by M. Luc (p. 19), his admiration for the manual arts, for republican and industrial Holland are among the commonplaces of the century and are echoed in Voltaire and Rousseau, with the differences that are known. Diderot was far too conscious of the infinite complexity of things, human and other, to venture into sweeping affirmations.

M. Luc's selections are made mainly to illustrate Diderot as a materialistic thinker and as a theoretical educator.³ While they inevitably give an incomplete picture of the man, they serve nevertheless to make easily accessible a part of his work usually neglected by the anthologists.

A. E. A. NAUGHTON

Stanford University

¹ M. Luc's study as well as the earlier volume by the Soviet philosopher M. Luppel were both published in the *Collection Socialisme et Culture* which announces as its intention the study of the historical antecedents of modern socialist theory.

² The manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale published in 1937 by M. Venturi under the title *Pages inédites contre un tyran* has a certain 'actualité' but does not alter our view.

³ Extraits des *Pensées détachées sur la peinture, etc.*; de l'*Addition aux pensées philosophiques*; l'*Entretien entre D'Alembert et Diderot*; Extraits du *Rêve de D'Alembert*; des *Principes de politique des souverains*; du *Plan d'une université*.

Emile Zola's Letters to J. van Santen Kolff. Edited by ROBERT JUDSON NIESS. St. Louis: Washington University Studies, New Series, Language and Literature, No. 10, 1940. Pp. xv+57.

Indispensable to future Zola scholars will be Robert Judson Niess's edition of forty-eight letters and eight cards addressed by the French novelist to J. van Santen Kolff during the years from 1878 to 1894. Written in response to persistent questioning by the Dutch admirer and prospective biographer of Zola, the collection contains the author's statement of the philosophical concept underlying his novels, the origin of the themes, characters, and titles, and the interpretation of the series as well as of individual volumes. The editor supplies careful critical apparatus which establishes, verifies, or corrects chronological and bibliographical data.

LURLINE V. SIMPSON

University of Washington

The Spirit of Molière. By PERCY ADDISON CHAPMAN. Edited by JEAN-ALBERT BÉDÉ. Introduction by CHRISTIAN GAUSS. Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. 250.

This posthumous writing of Percy Chapman brings us a welcome echo of his keen understanding of French thought, history, and literature. It goes even further in probing the problem of Molière and in revealing more fully the profound nature of the author. The book comes to us with a warm testimonial from Christian Gauss and is edited with respectful and friendly care by J.-A. Bédé, whose interpretation of Chapman's all but finished notes must be considered as faithful to the latter's intentions.

The book does not pretend to bring new factual information on Molière's life and works, which it reviews briefly and adequately except for the later plays (Percy Chapman was not given the time to complete this part). As the title indicates, the author focused his attention on the *spirit* of the great comic playwright and he abounds in illuminating comments on the subject.

Chapman's familiarity with seventeenth century France enabled him to give Molière his rightful place in that well-balanced society as an interpreter and investigator of the human heart rather than of the human animal. Chapman points out, however, how the moral content of Molière's work can, in such a civilization, fit the social status of the characters he studied: "Molière's is a city morality, where life is more a matter of perpetual contact with others than with nature or things" (p. 232). But we are reminded that: "Molière gives a picture of society in which character is shown as more important than station in the relations of men with each

other. . . . His comedy is more a comedy of character than a comedy of manners, more a picture of universal humanity than a picture of contemporary society" (p. 240).

The entire last chapter is a source of great satisfaction to the reader, who sees unfolding before him the lucid development of comedy as an esthetic, social, and literary medium, more particularly that comedy which was Molière's, not concerned with social nor metaphysical problems, but with man's character and its many twists and deviations: a full-size portrait made laughable—and bearable—forever and everywhere.

J.-C. CHESSEX

University of Washington

De l'Art de la Tragédie. By JEAN DE LA TAILLE. Édité par FREDERICK WEST. Editions de l'Université de Manchester, 1939. Pp. 37.

Jean de la Taille's treatise on Tragedy is offered us in this reprint, which follows (except for small alterations of spelling and modern punctuation) the original edition of 1572. The work is edited with conscientious, interesting, critical notes.

Frederick West's thorough introduction retraces the progress of dramatic theory and practice in France during the sixteenth century and points out Jean de la Taille's peculiar originality. How far we are with him from Jodelle and Scaliger, and how far yet from Racine. But we must admire the independence of Jean de la Taille, how he freed himself from pedantic, sterile interpretations, how he attempted to understand Aristotle at the very source, and how his own life of studies and combats emphasized *action* in tragedy, a feature so desperately absent from the productions of that age.

J.-C. CHESSEX.

University of Washington

L'Evolution du Theatre. By ANDRE GIDE. Introduction et Notes de CARL WILDMAN. Editions de l'Université de Manchester, 1939. Pp. 37.

This text is that of a lecture delivered in Brussels in 1904 and published in the "*Nouveaux Prétextes*" (Mercure 1911). André Gide saw in the stifling, narrow, and hopeless atmosphere created by naturalistic drama, a cause of eventual death for the theatre, since it obstinately strove for a replica of life itself, which drama can but must never attain if it is to survive as an *art* and not as mere photography. Gide insists also upon the need for obstacles in the path of the artist, who dies of freedom but waxes great under coercion. He demands new heroes of the theatre, the old ones hav-

ing vanished under the leveling influence of Christianity and democracy.

The enthusiasm of Carl Wildman, the editor, is somewhat hard to understand. His presentation of the dramatic situation after Gide's pronouncement does not seem to justify the fervor with which he greets him as a true prophet of what drama was to be between 1904 and 1939. We all appreciate the efforts of such people as Copeau, Pitoeff and others, as well as the works of Claudel or Lenormand. But it is difficult to accept, even in the restricted sense of "artistic" drama, the influence of such men and works as widely spread upon their contemporaries. Such pioneers appear rather like prophets in the wilderness. To say then that Gide forecast the evolution of drama in the next thirty-five years appears somewhat exaggerated. For today, in the year of grace 1940, drama still cries out for heroes.

J.-C. CHESSEX.

University of Washington

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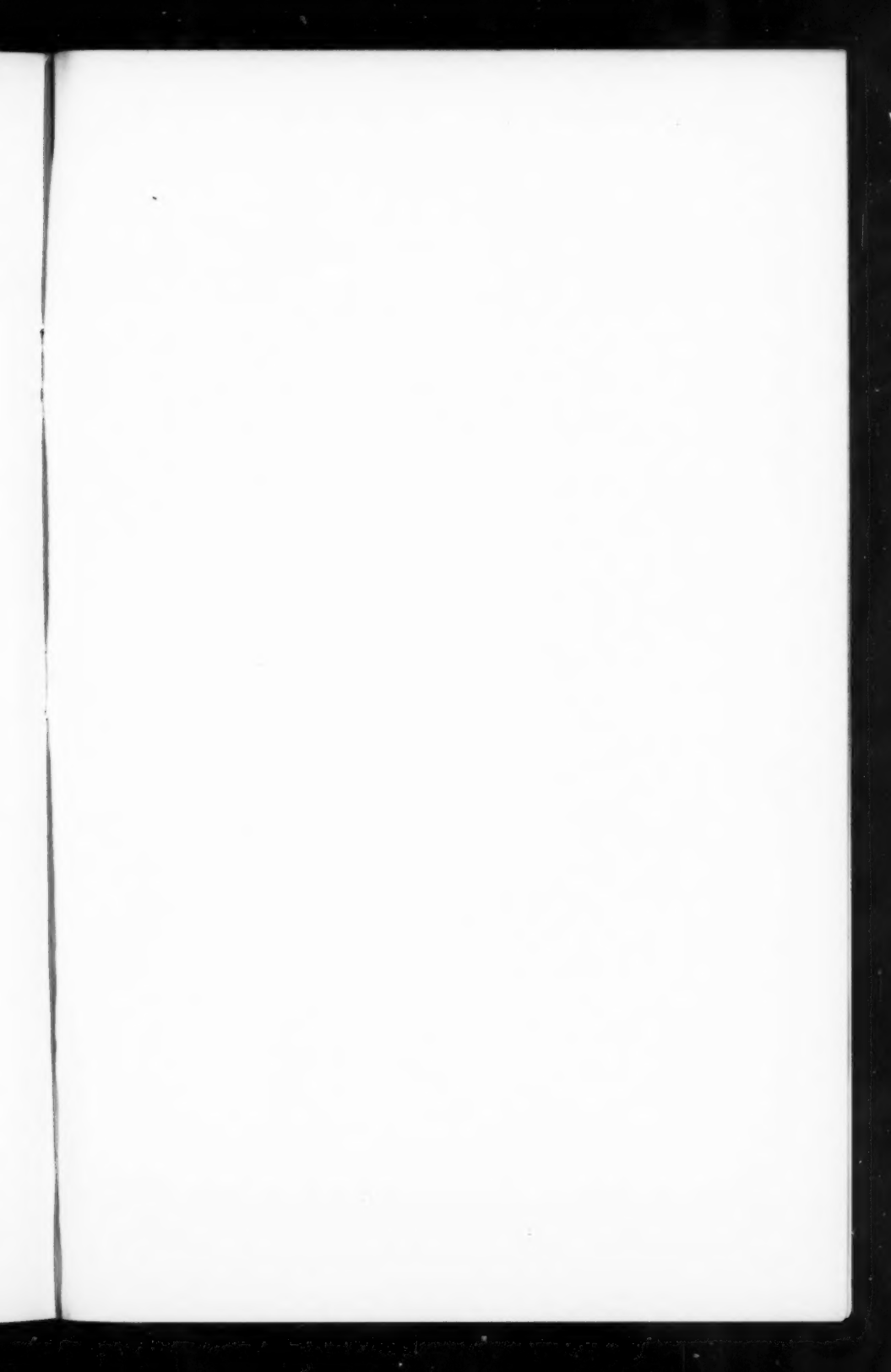
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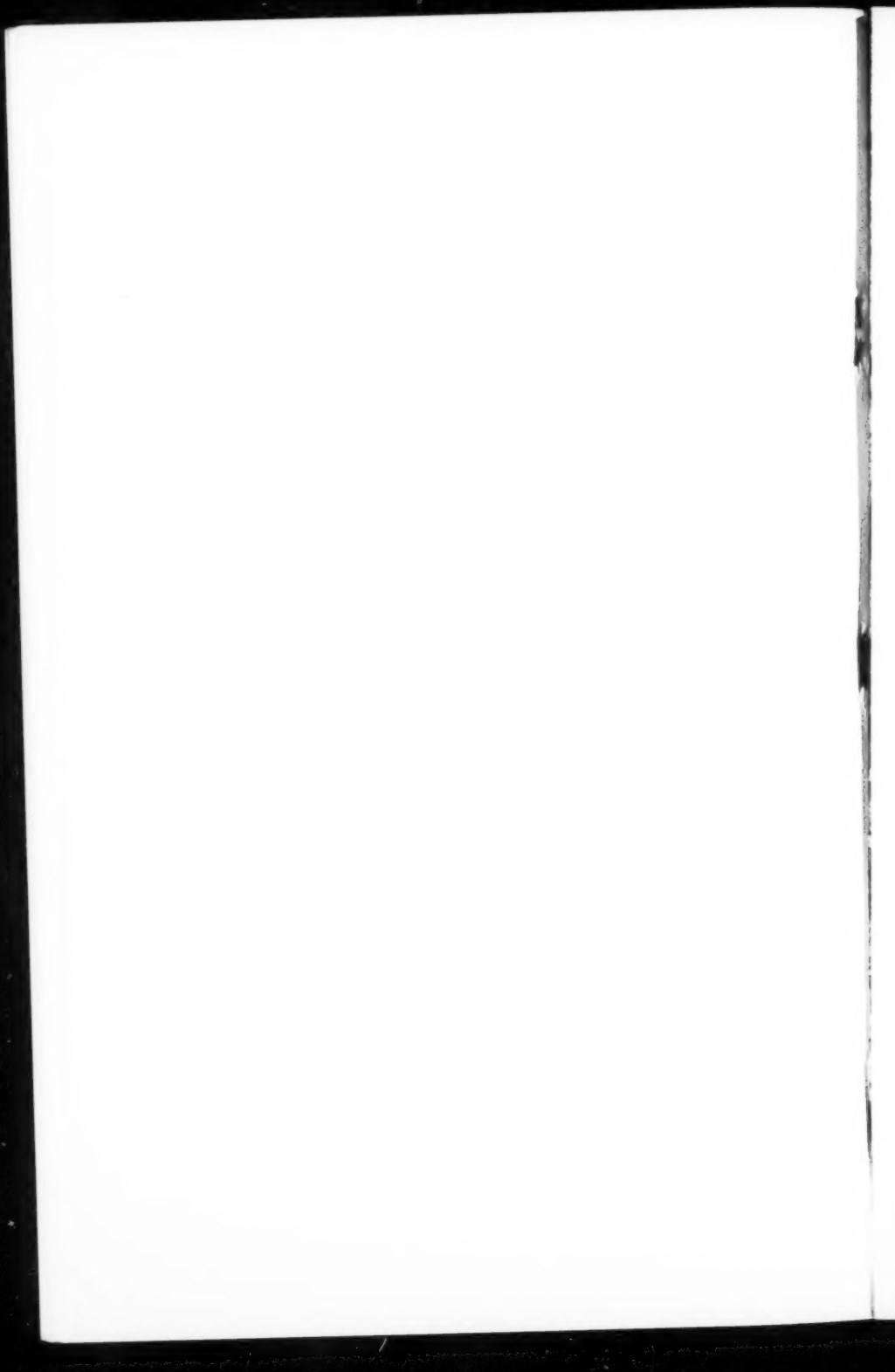
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* Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Latin-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.





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Volume II, Number 1, will appear in January, 1941

